# THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOL. XVII NO. 4 DECEMBER 1935

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PUBLISHED BY

THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

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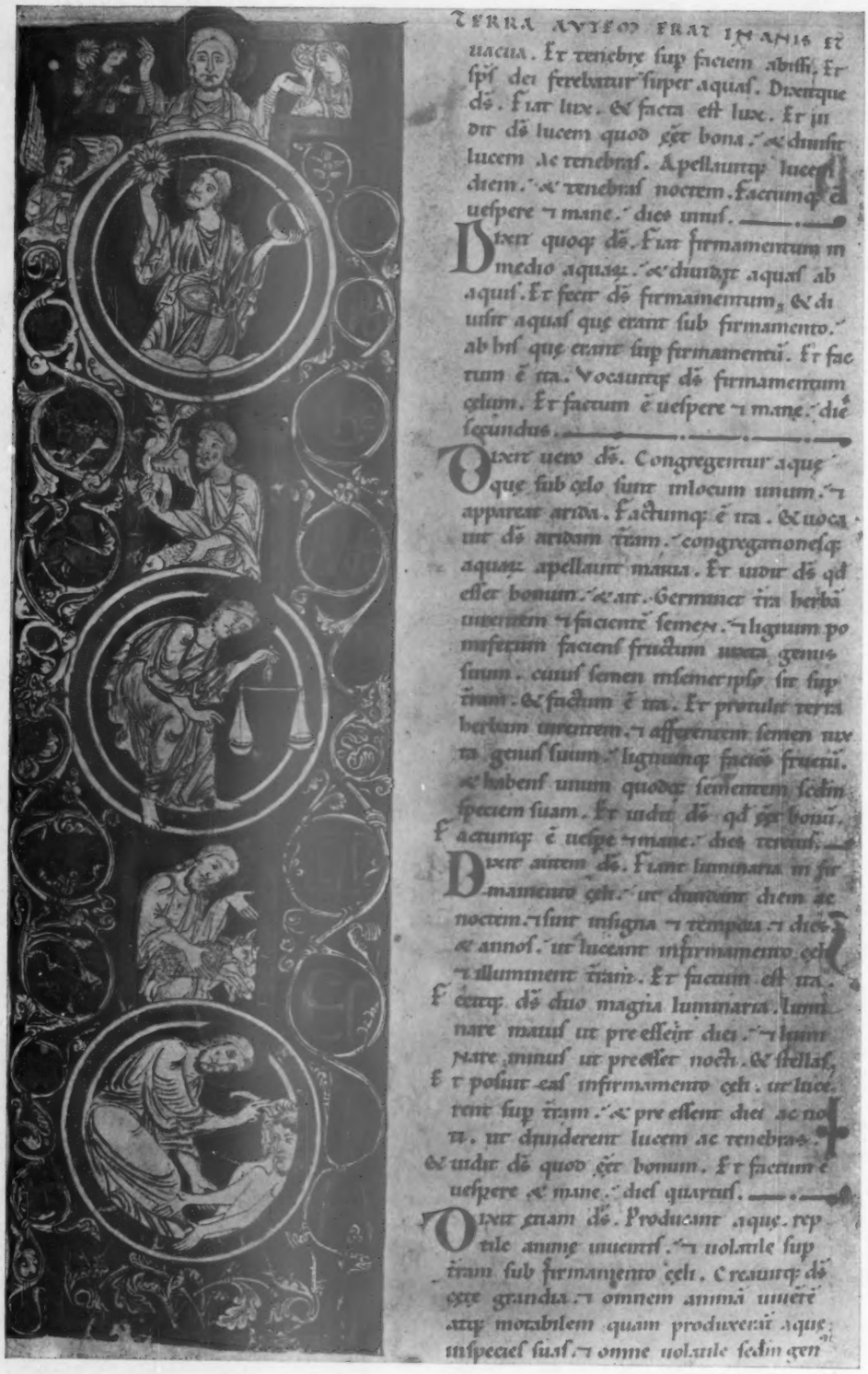
# THE ART BULLETIN

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TERRA AUTEM ERAT INANIS ET
uacua. Et tenebre sup faciem abiſſi. Et
spūs dei ferebatur super aquas. Dixitque
dō. Fiat lux. & facta est lux. Et vi
dit dō lucem quod ēet bona. & diuisit
lucem ac tenebras. Appellauitq; lucem
diem. & tenebras noctem. Factumq; ē
uespere & mane. dies unus.

Dixit quoq; dō. Fiat firmamentum in
medio aquaꝝ. & diuidat aquas ab
aquis. Et fecit dō firmamentum, & di
uisit aquas quę erant sub firmamento.
ab his quę erant sup firmamentū. Et fac
tum ē ita. Vocauitq; dō firmamentum
celum. Et factum ē uespere & mane. die
secundus.

Dixit uero dō. Congregentur aquę
quę sub celo sunt in locum unum. &
appareat arida. Factumq; ē ita. & voca
uit dō aridam terram. congregationesq;
aquaꝝ appellauit maria. Et vidit dō qd
esset bonum. & ait. Germinet terra herbā
uirentem & facientē semen. & lignum po
miferum faciens fructum iuxta genus
suum. cuius semen in semetipso sit sup
terram. & factum ē ita. Et protulit terra
herbam uirentem & afferentem semen iux
ta genus suum. lignumq; faciēs fructū.
& habens unum quodq; semen secūm
speciem suam. Et vidit dō qd ēet bonū.
& factumq; ē uespere & mane. dies tertius.

Dixit autem dō. Fiant luminaria in fir
mamento celi. ut diuidant diem ac
noctem. & sint in signa & tempora & dies
& annos. ut luceant in firmamento celi
& illuminent terrā. Et factum est ita.
& fecit dō duo magna luminaria. lumi
nare maius ut preesset diei. & lumi
nare minus ut preesset nocti. & stellas.
Et posuit eas in firmamento celi. ut luce
rent sup terram. & preessent diei ac no
ti. ut diuiderent lucem ac tenebras.
& vidit dō quod ēet bonum. Et factum ē
uespere & mane. dies quartus.

Dixit etiam dō. Producant aquę rep
tile anime uiuentis. & uolatile sup
terram sub firmamento celi. Creauitq; dō
ēte grandia. & omnem animā uiuēte
atq; motabilem quam produxerāt aquę
in species suas. & omne uolatile secūm gen

FIG. 1—*London, British Museum: Harley 4772, Fol. 5. Genesis*

# NEW DOCUMENTS ON ST.-GILLES[1]

By MEYER SCHAPIRO

IN this article I wish to offer new documentary proof of a dating of the façade of St.-Gilles which has already been loosely proposed by several writers, but has been accepted by no French scholar because of the lack of evidence other than that based on analysis of style.

Because the façade of St.-Gilles is a central monument of a proto-renaissance, the determination of its date has been an important problem to students of mediaeval art. A difference of seventy-five and even a hundred years exists between the dates assigned to it.[2] These datings are not merely neutral assignments to points in time; they are also judgments of the character of the work and its historical position in the growth of mediaeval art. The French archaeologists, for example, believe that the Romanesque art of Provence was a belated product, subsequent to the early intimations of Gothic in the Ile-de-France, and that its classical plastic qualities were, therefore, not the predecessors of Gothic, as others had maintained, but a provincial parallel to the Northern developments of the second half of the twelfth century.[3] For German scholars, the Provençal works are anterior to the Northern, and are the anticipation of the latter's tendency toward a monumental mediaeval style.[4] According to Richard Hamann, the façade of St.-Gilles was designed as early as the end of the eleventh century and was the starting point of a proto-renaissance that spread throughout Italy, Germany, and France.[5]

The problem of the dating of St.-Gilles includes more than the sculptures of the façade. The history of architecture is also concerned. For if we accept the earlier datings of the sculptures, we must admit that the cross ribs of the crypt, of which one keystone is carved in the first style of the façade,[6] are older than the corresponding ribs in the Northern region where Gothic construction was systematically developed.[7]

1. This study I publish in memory of Arthur Kingsley Porter.

2. For example, Richard Hamann (*Geschichte der Kunst*, Berlin, 1933, p. 904, and *Burlington Magazine*, LXIV, 1934, pp. 26-29) dates the beginning of the façade before 1100 or around 1096, whereas Robert de Lasteyrie (*Études sur la sculpture française au moyen âge*, in *Monuments Piot*, VIII, 1902, pp. 96-115) places it after 1142, or about 1150, and dates the completion of the sculptures at the very end of the century. A more recent French opinion (Augustin Fliche, *Aigues-Mortes et Saint-Gilles*, Paris, 1925, pp. 75 ff.) would advance the date of the sculptures to the first half of the thirteenth century.

3. André Michel even considered the sculptures of St.-Gilles and Arles dependent on more northern art. "Far from having been the initiating models of the statues of the portals of the North, they [the apostles of St.-Gilles) were, on the contrary, only an imitation of the latter adapted to the exigencies of the architecture in which they were set." *Histoire de l'art*, I, 2, 1905, p. 666.)

4. Cf. especially the excellent book of Wilhelm Vöge, *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles in Mittelalter*, Strassburg, 1894.

5. See the references in note 1 and also his *Deutsche und französische Kunst in Mittelalter I. Südfranzösische Protorenaissance und ihre Ausbreitung in Deutschland*, Marburg, 1922. Hamann will publish shortly a three volume work on St.-Gilles. We await also the publication of a Hamburg doctor's thesis on St.-Gilles by Walther Horn.

6. Reproduced by A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, ill. 1330, and by Hamann in the work just cited, fig. 46.

7. On the question of Provençal ribbed vaults, see Robert de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque gothique*, I, 1926, pp. 26-27, and

It is true that the dating of a unique work tells us very little about its style or its historical position. These must be discovered by analysis of the work itself and by comparison with related works. But without a correct dating the relationships cannot be clear, for the historical order of creation is an essential and revealing aspect of the form of a development, and the form of a development points to otherwise unnoticed aspects and qualities of historically arrayed works.

We can imagine how shocking it would be to our ideas of the necessary relations of an art to its own generation and to other products of its time, as well as to its historical antecedents, if we learned that Cézanne painted in the first third of the nineteenth century and Delacroix in the last. We would have to reorganize our whole knowledge of nineteenth century art as well as our ideas concerning historical possibility. The analogy is all the more pertinent because the twelfth century, like the nineteenth, was a period of cultural mobility, during which the forms of art underwent a rapid change, so that pronounced differences in the dating of an event or a monument imply pronounced differences in the conditions ascribed to its occurrence.

*
* *

Robert de Lasteyrie attempted to show in a celebrated work on the sculptures of Chartres and Provence that the façade of St.-Gilles was created after 1142,[8] since that is the date of the two oldest inscriptions (Figs. 2, 3) incised on the western wall of the crypt which was built to sustain the sculptured façade.[9] This limiting date has won general acceptance[10] but can hardly be considered a rigorous *terminus post quem*. For it was not at all proved by de Lasteyrie that the two obits of 1142 were cut immediately after the construction of the crypt wall or immediately prior to the carving of the sculptures. There are, in fact, three other inscriptions (Figs. 4-6) on the same wall which have not been discussed because they bear no dates, but which in form betray a period earlier than 1142. Fortunately, the *terminus ante quem* of these inscriptions may be readily fixed.

One inscription reads HIC IACET FROTARDUS QUI OBIIT XVII KL SEPT.; the second reads HIC IACET PETRUS DE BROZET; the third refers to HUBILOTUS Q. $\overline{\text{OT}}$. V. IDUS OCTOB.[11]

In the necrology of St.-Gilles now preserved in the British Museum (Add.ms. 16979), in a manuscript of the Rule of St. Benedict, dated by a colophon of indisputable

Porter, *op. cit.*, I, p. 293; and more recently, Marcel Aubert in the *Bulletin Monumental*, 1934, p. 16. Aubert writes: "Celles [the diagonal ribs] de l'église basse de Saint-Gilles, d'une construction très savante, ne datent, comme les voûtes d'arêtes qui les avoisinent, que du troisième quart du XII^e siècle; celles des travées occidentales ne remontent qu'à la fin de ce siècle."

8. *Études*, p. 96. This dating had already been deduced from general stylistic criteria by Quicherat (*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire. Archéologie du moyen âge*, Paris, 1886, pp. 176 ff.), Dehio (*Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VII, 1886, pp. 129 ff.; *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, I, 1892, p. 629), and Vöge (*op. cit.*, 1894, p. 130).

9. De Lasteyrie, *Études*, p. 96, and fig. 24.

10. Especially after the observations of Labande (*Congrès Archéologique de France LXXVI^e session tenue à Avignon en 1909*, Paris, 1910, pp. 168 ff.). See below, p. 422.

11. They have been published before by Revoil (*Architecture romane du Midi de la France*, Paris, 1874, II, p. 52) and reproduced by the Abbé Nicolas in the article of Delmas, *Notes sur les travaux de restoration et de conservation de l'église de Saint-Gilles* (1843), first published in 1902 (*Mémoires de l'académie de Nîmes, VII^e série*, XXV, 1902, p. 108), with minor inaccuracies. I am able to reproduce photographs of these inscriptions (Figs. 2-6) as well as of other details of St -Gilles (Figs. 13-15, 17-19) through the kindness of Prof. Richard Hamann.




FIG. 2—*Epitaph of Causitus, 1142*



FIG. 3—*Epitaph of Gilius, 1142*



FIG. 4—*Epitaph of Frotardus, before 1129*




FIG. 5—*Epitaph of Petrus de Brozet, before 1129*



FIG. 6—*Epitaph of Hubilotus, before 1129*



FIG. 7—*Inscription, 1116*



Fig. 8- Obit of Frotardus. Fol. 13v

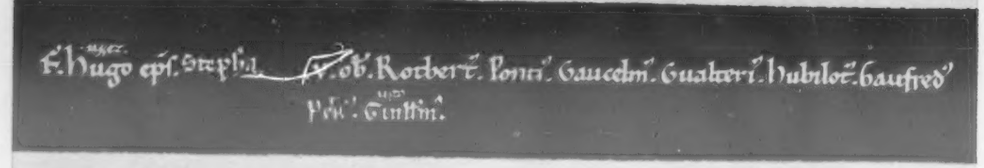


Fig. 9- Obit of Hubilotus. Fol. 16v

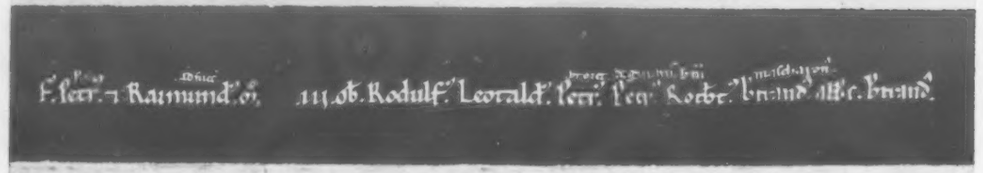


Fig. 10- Obit of Petrus Brozet. Fol. 1v

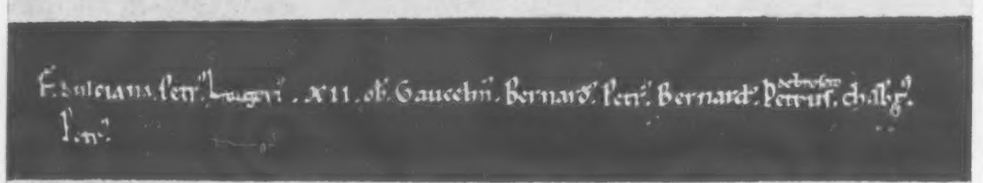


Fig. 11- Obit of Petrus de Broseto. Fol. 3v

*London, British Museum: Add. ms. 16979.*
*Obits*

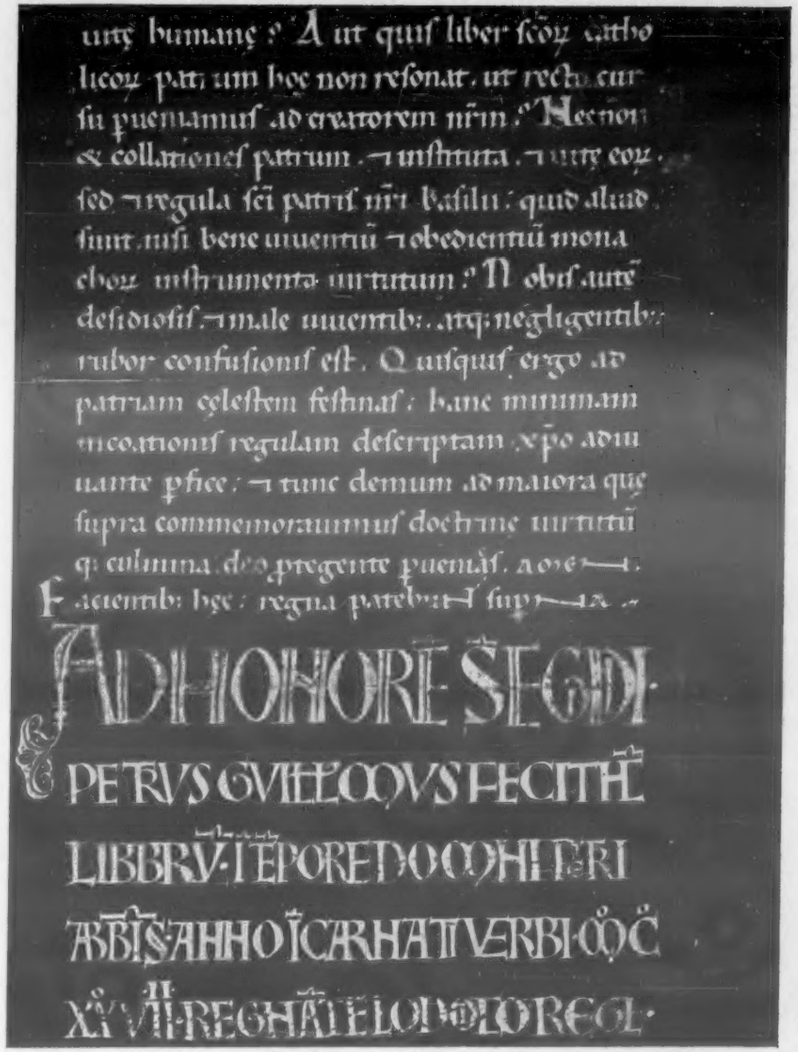



FIG. 12—*London, British Museum: Add. ms. 16979, Fol. 62r. Colophon Page*

authenticity in the year 1129 (Fig. 12)[12] these three names occur in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. FROTARDUS (Fig. 8) is written beside *xvii kl. sept.* (fol. 13v) and HUBILOTUS (Fig. 9) beside *v. id. oct.* (fol. 16v), precisely as in the inscriptions of the crypt. There are two entries which might refer to Petrus de Brozet; the first (Fig. 10) beside *iii id. jan.*—PETRUS BROZET (fol. 1v), is in the original hand, and a second (Fig. 11), beside *xii kl. mar.*—PETRUS DE BROSETO (fol. 3v), in a slightly later script.[13]

It follows from the study of these inscriptions that the western wall of the crypt existed in 1129, and hence that the façade was already planned, if not begun, by that year.

There is one possibility of error in this reasoning, namely, the contingency that Hubilotus, Frotardus, and Petrus were not buried here until fifteen or twenty years after their deaths, or that the inscriptions were commemorative, having been placed here long after the burials. The same contingency would limit also the certainty of the *terminus post quem* asserted by de Lasteyrie. I think it is highly improbable. Nothing in any of these inscriptions indicates a commemorative purpose subsequent to the original burial. The inscriptions of about 1129 have no date, whereas those of 1142 (Figs. 2, 3) refer to the actual date of burial. All of them are cut in the original masonry of the wall, and could not have been incorporated from an earlier building. The inscriptions recording the earlier deaths are the more ancient in palaeographic style and are related more closely to the well-known inscription of 1116 (Fig. 7) which records the beginning of the construction of the church.

If we compare the inscriptions of 1142 with those of the men who died before 1129 we find a clear difference in epigraphic and aesthetic types. No two inscriptions are by the same hand, but those of 1142 have a common character distinct from the common characters of the three inscriptions recording the earlier burials. In the later pair, the funerary formula reads HIC SEPULTUS EST, followed by the name, the year of burial, and the words ORATE PRO EO; whereas in the earlier three we find the more primitive HIC IACET, the name, and, in two cases, the phrase QUI OBIIT. The date is limited to the day and the month, without the year.

This difference in epigraphic content corresponds to a difference in the form of the inscription as a whole. The later inscriptions are enclosed by molded frames, set well within the single block of stone. The earlier are unframed, except by the jointing of the stone. The later works omit the guiding horizontal lines incised between the lines of the earlier inscriptions.

In these respects the epitaphs of about 1129 agree with the inscription of 1116 recording the beginning of the church. The inscriptions of 1142, on the other hand, agree with dated epitaphs of the second half of the twelfth century in the cloister

12. Folio 62 r.,—"ad honore(m) s(ancti) Egidii Petrus Guil(e)lmus fecit h(un)c libbru(m) i(n) te(m)pore domni Petri abb(at)is anno i(n)carnati verbi MCXXVIIII regna(n)te Lodoico rege." This colophon has been reproduced by Deschamps in *Bulletin Monumental*, 1929, pl. XVII, fig. 32. That the necrology and the Rule were originally conceived as a single manuscript is evident not only in the similarity of script, but also in the fact that the opening pages of the Rule belong to the same gathering as the last pages of the necrology.

13. Mr. Francis Wormald of the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum has kindly verified these entries for me. He has noted the originality of these entries, but thinks that the second Petrus (*de Broseto*) is an addition, though contemporary.

of St.-Trophime in Arles.[14] Besides the formula ORATE PRO EO, these later epitaphs of Arles include the year of death, which is rarely given in funerary inscriptions of southern France prior to the second third of the century.[15] For Christian commemorative purposes only the day and the month are necessary. The mention of the year is a non-religious intrusion, expressing a secular conception of time and the historic significance of individual lives.

That this change should occur in Provence during the second third of the twelfth century is in accord with the proto-renaissance in art and the secular movement of Provençal culture at this time. It is also the period of the formation of Gothic art.

The following observations are offered to corroborate the chronological order of the inscriptions of 1116, 1129, and 1142. In the inscription of 1116 (Fig. 7), the letters are tangent to the ruled lines; in 1129, they are between these lines, but no longer tangent to them; and in 1142, they are unbounded, except by an embracing frame. This formal development, which merits the attention of historians of art, is accompanied by a change in the relation of the shapes of the letters to the ideal lattice or grill structure of the epigraphic field. In 1116, the measured horizontal framework extends considerably beyond the letters, and the letters, though formed regularly and simply, are varied in spacing and show a great range in proportions, some being extremely narrow and elongated, others, very broad. This irregularity corresponds to the frequent occurrence of joined letters (AE, TH, TE, HE, NI) in the same inscription, and to the varied, rather than uniform, level of the middle horizontal strokes and junctions (A, E, R, etc.). Hence, despite the classical tendencies in the rounded and clear forms of the individual letters, the whole is "accidental" in spacing, unclear and unpredictable, rhythmically intricate without the expected conformity to a regular underlying structure and a canonical proportioning.

In the inscriptions of about 1129, the ruled lines are again horizontal, but they are limited by the extent of the inscription and therefore suggest a latent vertical border or enclosure. In the inscription of Frotardus (Fig. 4) the ends of the ruled lines are accented by vertical serifs. The letters maintain the irregular, individualized proportioning of the earlier inscription, but with a more energetic variation and fantasy, like successive capitals in a Romanesque colonnade. Several letters are of substandard height. Note also the expanded O in OBIIT. More interesting in the inscriptions of about 1129 is the introduction, besides the persisting joined letters, of linked forms which cross each other or are enclosed one by the other (TA, QI, TR, DE). Such forms negate the normal serial order and direction of an inscription and are fundamentally opposed to classic design. (A comparison of the B in the OBIIT of the epitaph of Frotardus with the B in OCTAB of the inscription of 1116 will reveal this change within a single letter.)

In 1142 the letters form a more compact and regular mass, with the least

14. Like that of Pons Rebolli, 1183 (De Lasteyrie, *Études*, p. 61, fig. 16).

15. This is evident from a study of de Castellane's corpus of Latin inscriptions of southern France, published in the *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, II, 1834-35 (Toulouse, 1836), III, 1836-37, IV, 1840-41. Cf. especially IV, pp. 280, 283; III, pp. 81, 102. The corpus is full of inaccuracies. The readings and reproductions must be used with the utmost caution and constantly controlled with the aid of photographs of the original incriptions.

variation. They are enclosed by a rectangular frame, maintain a fairly uniform spacing and proportion, and show few traces of linear fantasy or linking of letters. Of all the inscriptions they are the nearest to a classic norm.

This development corresponds also to a change in the larger epigraphic proportions. The inscriptions of 1116 and about 1129 are spread across three (or two) lines, the inscriptions of 1142, across four. The earliest inscription is the most extended in a horizontal sense, the latest are the most developed in the sense of a page of a mediaeval and modern book or of a restricted visual field. It is further significant that in the epitaphs of 1129 the names of Hubilotus and Frotardus are both broken up and spread over two lines of script, in contrast to the completeness of the names as epigraphic entities in the relatively narrower epitaphs of 1142. In the latter the addition of the line ORATE PRO EO is perhaps significant formally, because this phrase is a closed, symmetrical formula.

A statistic of the individual forms of the letters is an unsafe guide to the chronology of inscriptions belonging to a fairly short period of time (1116 to 1142), unless we possess a very large number of dated inscriptions and are attentive to numerous aspects and elements. The simple enumeration of square and rounded elements (as practised by Deschamps,[16] if evaluated in terms of the larger development of Romanesque palaeography, would be misleading or inconclusive. If we consider the inscriptions of 1116, about 1129, and 1142 as three groups, and tabulate the frequency of square and rounded forms of C, E, and T, we will find that in the inscriptions of

1116, there are 3 rounded and 12 angular forms,
c. 1129, there are 4 rounded and 20 angular forms,
1142, there are 2 rounded and 18 angular forms.

The evident decrease in proportion of rounded letters to square letters in the later inscriptions would appear to contradict the common idea of a development from square to uncial forms during the course of the twelfth century. But in the single inscription of Frotardus (c. 1129) there are three uncial and six square forms of E, C, and T, not to mention the pronounced uncial tendencies in the shapes of other letters. That this inscription nonetheless belongs with the epitaph of Hubilotus may be inferred not only from the content and larger aspects of the form, discussed above, but also from the presence of uncial h and d, of minuscule b, and of the combination of square C and uncial E in IACET in the inscription of Hubilotus.

It is evident, therefore, that during the period between 1116 and 1142 uncial or, in general, rounded active forms became more common in St.-Gilles, and were followed by regular classical types. The unusual shapes in the inscription of Frotardus seem to have been taken from manuscript writing. But the congeniality of these particular calligraphic majuscule elements is relevant to this investigation, for such forms, are characteristic of the manuscripts of the 1120's and 1130's. A corresponding stage appears in an epitaph of 1126 in Vienne.[17] The intense activity of the lines corresponds further to the character of the earliest sculptures of St.-Gilles, the little figures of Cain and Abel and the hunting scenes on the podia of the central door, and the large

16. *Bulletin Monumental*, 1929.

17. *Ibid.*, fig. 33.

St. Thomas. A more attentive study of all the inscriptions, not so much in the sense of statistical inventory, but with an eye to the aesthetic qualities, would show that in the inscriptions of 1142, the square or angular letters have a slightly greater tendency toward plastic, articulated shapes. Witness the curvature of the X's and the barbed endings of C, H, E, etc. The serif terminations of the E are not only tectonic accents in the classical manner, but produce a confluence of vertical and horizontal strokes unknown or less developed in the inscriptions of 1116 and c. 1129. Noteworthy also is the change in punctuation and abbreviation from the simple dot and circle to the triangular notch and pointed ovoidal O. (This is comparable to changes in the architecture of the corresponding period.)

These observations show that the larger grouping of the inscriptions according to epigraphic content, frames, and the mode of composition, is not artificial, but corresponds to genuine stylistic differences, which can be illustrated by formal minutiae. The attribution of the undated inscriptions to the period immediately before 1129, an attribution based on the necrology of the abbey, is therefore supported by the palaeographic evidence.

I know that one can raise the objections already presented by Labande[18] in criticism of the conclusions of de Lasteyrie—namely, that the crypt wall is not homogeneous and that the inscriptions are on the lower and older part of the crypt wall and belong to a period before an upper church was even planned. Labande would suppose that what is now the crypt was once intended as the church itself, and that the upper church with its sculptured façade might accordingly have been begun long after 1142; further, if an upper church had been planned from the beginning, the space before the crypt would not have been used as a cemetery. The staircase to the portal, according to Labande, was a later addition, which concealed the tombs and the inscriptions. Therefore, the inscriptions would indicate that in 1142 (or 1129) an upper church had not yet been planned.

There are several objections to be made to this argument. In the first place, is it credible that a church of the scale of St.-Gilles, belonging to one of the most powerful abbeys in France, was planned merely as a crypt? For the form of the present crypt, with its irregular eastern bays, its plain, prismatic piers,[19] and unmolded narrow western doorways, alone indicates that it was only the substructure of an immense project for an upper church, like the later basilica of St. Francis in Assisi. In the second place, the few burials in front of the western wall of the crypt do not necessarily imply a cemetery before the church, unconcealed by a staircase. On the contrary, such burials, underneath a western staircase, satisfy in an ingenious way the desire to bury several notable individuals within holy ground, yet outside the church itself. For this is the one spot which unites these two apparently

18. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 168 ff. See note 10 above.

19. Fliche (*op. cit.*, p. 76) says that in 1116 no crypt was planned, only a church—"une église qui vraisemblablement, étant donné la forme des piliers, ne devait pas comprendre de crypte." But the prismatic form appears in the crypt of Montmajour nearby. Although such piers are frequent in churches of the eleventh century, they are practically unknown in naves of large, three-aisled Benedictine churches of developed Romanesque style begun as late as 1116. In St.-Gilles several of the piers of the crypt are without bases. The incorporation of the walls of the still earlier crypt with its tomb of St. Gilles in the substructure of 1116, and the consequent two-aisled, irregular form of the eastern bays of the crypt also speak against the theory of Labande and Fliche.

irreconcilable conditions. It is outside the western wall of the crypt, yet within the church enclosure. The irregular placing of the five epitaphs on the crypt wall indicates further that this unornamented wall was not intended as an exposed monumental façade.

Finally, and most important, Labande seems to overlook the fact that the primitive part of the wall, on which the obits are inscribed, includes the central projection, that supports the similarly projecting podia of the portal above.[20] This projection of the crypt wall could have been built only in anticipation of the upper portal; it is not demanded by the vaults and abutment of the crypt. The planning or design of the upper portal must therefore antedate the obits of the men who were buried here toward 1129. And the hypothesis of Labande that the crypt wall was intended as an exposed façade falls to the ground.

But how long before 1129 was this wall constructed? And how long after the completion of the wall was the anticipated portal begun?

In the absence of further documents it is impossible to refer these events to fixed points. We are certain only that the crypt wall was built after 1116, the date of the beginning of the church.[21] But a difficulty arises here because of the unhomogeneous character of the crypt wall. The construction appears to have been interrupted at a level of about 2.30 m. According to Labande,[22] this interruption lasted many years, and it was not until after 1142 that work was resumed. He infers from the fact that the inscriptions of 1142 are on the lower and earlier part of the wall that the upper part is necessarily later than 1142, on the assumption that in a building, the higher the part, the later its date. But this assumption is hardly valid here. One

20. The inscription of Gilius is cut in this projecting wall.

21. An altar was consecrated in St.-Gilles in 1096, but this altar evidently belonged to the preceding church and was dedicated in 1096, like the altars of so many other churches, because of the opportune visit of a pope. Although the bull of Pope Urban, referring to this event of 1096, speaks of a new basilica ("post hec divine voluntatis dispositione actum est, ut apud beati Egydii monasterium basilice nove aram omnipotenti Deo nostris manibus dicaremus," Paris, Bibl. nat. ms. latin 11018, f. 21 r; *Histoire de Languedoc*, new ed. V, col. 744; Goiffon, *Bullaire de St. Gilles*, Nîmes, 1882, pp. 35-36), we have no reason to assume, as Hamann does (*Burlington Magazine*, LXIV, 1934, pp. 26-29), and as did the Abbé Nicolas before him (cf. de Lasteyrie, *Études*, p. 84), that this church was still in process of construction in 1116, and that its supposedly uncompleted parts—the crypt and the lower part of the façade—were preserved and incorporated in the newer church begun in 1116. We must, of course, await the publication of Hamann's large monograph for the detailed evidence of his theory. Since there were at least three churches in the monastery prior to 1116, according to the contemporary description of the building of the church of 1116 (*Miracula Sancti Aegidii*, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.* Sc., XII, 1856, p. 289, n. 15, and in Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, Paris, 1713, V, p. 623), it is hardly certain that the altar of 1096 was even on the site of the church begun in 1116. An eyewitness of the new construction tells us that the preceding church was demolished and that *foundations* of the new building were laid in 1116: "Dum enim anno incarnationis dominicae 1116 fundamenta basilicae novae poneremus, quia ecclesia alia minus continens erat et multitudinem adventantium capere non poterat, subversioni ecclesiarum operam dedimus. Cum autem ecclesiam maiorem, quae cum tribus cryptis, maximis et quadratis lapidibus antiquitus exaedificata fuerat, destrueremus, nec non et ecclesiam sancti Petri, quae octoginta fratres in choro capere poterat, simul cum porticu lapidea, quae ei adhaerebat, a parte septemtrionis et a capite superioris ecclesiae usque ad extremitatem ecclesiae sancti Petri in longum protendebatur, in qua fratres ad processionem diebus sollemnibus egredi soliti erant et antiquitus Via Sacra vocabatur, nec non et ecclesiam sanctae Mariae destrueremus" (*loc. cit.*). The ingenious hypothesis of Professor Hamann would permit him to date some of the sculptures of the façade as early as 1096 and enable him to derive the Lombard sculptures of the first decades of the twelfth century from St.-Gilles. The latter hypotesis can be rejected on stylistic grounds alone. Cf. on this point the dissertation of a pupil of Hamann, Dr. Trude Krautheimer-Hess, *Die figurale Plastik der Ostlombardei von 1100 bis 1178* (*Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, IV, 1928). "The dependence of Modena on Saint-Gilles", she writes, "cannot be established."

22. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 173-174.

could very well inscribe an epitaph on the lower part of a wall years after the wall had been completed. The position of an epitaph on a wall is not ordinarily dependent on the height of the wall. It is unlikely that the epitaphs were placed at levels of four and six feet merely because the (supposedly) uncompleted wall was only seven feet high. Even if the wall had been higher, the epitaphs would probably have been inscribed, like most epitaphs, at just these levels, if only for the sake of legibility.[23]

There is a text of the period which suggests that already before 1124, if not 1121, the walls had risen well above the level of seven feet fixed by Labande. The author of the *Miracula Sancti Aegidii,* a monk of St.-Gilles, reporting the miraculous protection of the faithful during the demolition of the old church and the erection of the new, says:

> "non post multum tempus [after 1116] cum jam paries
> ecclesiae novae aliquantum in sublime provectus esset...."[24]

Since the salience of the central portion of the crypt wall already appears in the first stage of construction, there can be no doubt that the portal was intended from the very beginning. It this is so, then the burials of about 1129 imply the completion of the crypt wall by that date. For if burial before the crypt was hardly possible unless the space in question were covered or enclosed, then an evidence of burial by 1129 implies the existence of the stairs and hence the completion of the western retaining wall of the crypt before that time.

Several writers[25] have pointed to disorders in the monastery of St.-Gilles which precluded any work in the period between 1117 and 1125. Some have gone further and declared that work was improbable before the middle of the century.[26]

These disorders really indicate very little concerning the construction of the church. They occur elsewhere at this time during building campaigns, and may even be cited as a sign of building activity. For when abbeys collected funds for building operations, they were sometimes subject to depredations and had to fight for the possession of their valuable properties.[27] This was the case in St.-Gilles. The papal bulls issued during the disorders were designed to protect the funds and property of the abbey as well as the independence of the church.[28] The violations of sanctuary mentioned in the bulls were aimed at the cashboxes and at the offerings brought to the altars.[29] Even the monks and the abbot were guilty of such thefts.[30] But the main

23. Cf. the epitaphs of the north gallery of the cloister of St.-Trophime in Arles, which are all later than the wall above them.

24. *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX, 1890, p. 405 (19th miracle); *Mon. Germ. Hist.* Sc., XII, 1856, p. 289, n. 15; *Annales*, 1713, V, p. 623.

25. Notably de Lasteyrie (*Études,* pp. 92 ff.) and Labande (*loc. cit.*).

26. Cf. Beenken (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1928, p. 201), Fliche (*op. cit.*), Frankl (*Die frühmittelalterliche und romanische Baukunst*, Wildpark-Postdam, 1926, pp. 257-258), etc.

27. The abbey of Vézélay, for example, was the scene of uprisings, conflicts, and pillage during the short period in which the Romanesque church was constructed. Cf. Oursel, *L'art roman de Bourgogne*, 1928, pp. 114-116.

28. Goiffon, *Bullaire de Saint-Gilles*, Nîmes, 1882, pp. 58-68.

29. *Ibid.* Such violations were common in St.-Gilles in the period preceding the beginning of the construction of 1116 and even at the moment before the dedication of the altar of 1096. A bull of Pope Urban II in 1095 states that Count Raymond abandons his claims to the offerings on the altars of St.-Gilles and returns them to the church: "partem imo rapinam quam ex parentum suorum invasione in altari sancti Egidii et reliquis ipsius ecclesiae altaribus habere solitus erat" (Goiffon, *op. cit.*, p. 30; cf. also pp. 38-45 and 53).

30. A papal bull of 1119 (Calixtus II) decrees "ut nullus abbas vel monachus tesaurum vel honores ecclesiae qui aut modo habentur, aut in futurum largiente Domino, adquirentur, distrahere vel inpi-

source of disturbance was the conflict between the feudal lords of the region and the abbey and burghers of St.-Gilles.

Actually, there is no mention of continuous violence, but only of sporadic raids. Like nomads attacking a settled people, the predacious counts seized the monastic treasure and the offerings of the altars, and returned after a period when treasure and offerings had accumulated again. If Bertrand, Count of Béziers, seized the abbot Hugo in 1117, the abbot was free in 1118 and sufficiently prosperous to entertain the pope in great state in the same year.[31] And even during the worst period (1119 to April 1122) the church continued to receive donations and papal protection.[32] The last reference to disorders is dated April 22, 1122.[33] I do not think that we can infer from such disorders that the *chantier* was entirely inactive. Since the nobility of the region invaded St.-Gilles to seize church moneys from the altars, we can suppose, on the contrary, that donations *ad opus ecclesiae* were continuous and that some construction was in progress. It is precisely at this period, toward 1121, that Petrus Guillelmus, a monk of St.-Gilles, composed the *Miracula Sancti Aegidii,* which records only recent or contemporary miracles and pilgrimages and rich offerings to St.-Gilles.[34] A passage in one miracle suggesting that work continued above the level of the crypt in the early twenties has already been cited. At the most, work might have been interrupted for periods of several months during the years 1118 to 1122.

Hence, we believe that work on the façade was possible in the twenties, and that the burials before 1129 belong to a time when the staircase was completed and the sculpture of the façade had been begun.

We do not have to depend only on deductions from epigraphical documents to reach this conclusion. The study of the sculptures themselves and comparison with

gnorare audiat", unless for ransom, famine, or fiefs (Goiffon, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54). On the part of the neighboring bishops in despoiling St.-Gilles, see L. Ménard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Nismes*, I, 1750, p. 195.

31. Goiffon, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52, bulls xxxiv, xxxv, and *Gallia Christiana,* VI, 1739, p. 486: "Hugonem abbatem huic pontifici diu ibidem cum frequenti comitatu moranti sumtus liberalissime suppeditasse et equos decem obtulisse."

32. Cf. *Gallia Christiana,* VI, p. 486, and the *Miracula Sancti Aegidii* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* Sc., XII, 1856, pp. 320 ff.) which mentions donations by Boleslaus III, king of Poland, at this period ("Bolezlaus, dux Poloniae, cuius larga beneficia ad honorem quem erga sanctum Egidium habere videtur, saepius experti sumus"). His *pincerna* visited the tomb of St.-Gilles and made an offering toward 1121. It is interesting in this connection to record the fact that a *frater Bratizlaus* is listed among the monks of St.-Gilles in the necrology of the abbey, written in 1129 (British Museum Add.ms. 16979, f. 20v).

33. Goiffon, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68. The next document published by Goiffon is a bull restoring St.-Gilles to the Cluniac rule (*ibid.*, p. 69, April 2, 1125).

34. The author states in the prologue that he is composing this work "ad consolationem tribulationum quas incessanter patimur" and expresses the hope that through it "et impugnantium nos saevicia, audito virtutum eius [S. Egidii] praeconio, a fervore maliciae suae aliquatenus compuncta resipiscat" (*Mon. Germ. Hist* Sc., XII, 1856, p. 316). Pertz, the editor of this text, correctly infers that the *Miracula* were composed before 1124 and after 1121, from the fact that they are addressed to the abbot Hugo who died in 1124, and include an allusion to an event of 1121 (*ibid.*, p. 288). The Bollandists (*Analecta Bollandiana*, IX, 1890, p. 399–404) have published another text which includes several miracles of the mid-twelfth century. But these are evidently additions to the original text, and were probably composed in Germany, since they pertain to Germans alone and are preceded by a preface which speaks of the exceptional devotion of Germans to St. Gilles. The earlier nucleus contains no indication of an event after 1121, but several which can be dated around 1113, 1117, 1120, 1121, by historical evidences. The author states, besides, that he is describing only miracles of his own time, witnessed by himself or trustworthy people, omitting the doubtful or unauthenticated ("recolens ea solummodo, quae nostris temporibus per eum [S. Egidium] Dominus operatur"). It is significant, further, that in the manuscript containing the additional German miracles the scribe has omitted a passage from the first of the original set of miracles, stating that it took place before the time of the writer and that "cetera, quae sequuntur, nostra aetate provenerant." (*Analecta*, IX, p. 392, n. 8.)

other dated works will confirm this view.[35] By stylistic criteria the oldest figures of the façade, like the St. Thomas, were possible in this region as early as 1129. If the tympana of Vézélay and Autun are of the first third of the twelfth century,[36] and the tympanum of Moissac no later than 1115,[37] then the façade of St.-Gilles may well have been begun in the 1120's. This problem would be considerably simplified if we had Provençal sculptures of the first two decades of the twelfth century. We do not possess the materials for studying the local development of sculpture; but in the scattered remains of the manuscripts produced in Provence in the beginning of the twelfth century, we can observe tendencies in mode of drawing and also various elements of representation that recur in the sculptures of St.-Gilles. These manuscripts are few in number, and their miniatures, like the sculptures of St.-Gilles, are hardly uniform in style. But a casual comparison of the four figured pages reproduced in this article (Figs. 1, 16, 20, 21) with the sculptures of the façade will, I think, convince the reader that sculptures and miniatures belong to the same general period.

Figure 20 is from a manuscript produced in the abbey of La Grasse, near St.-Gilles, between 1086 and 1108.[38] Figures 1 and 16 are from a Bible in the British Museum (Harley 4772) which was once in Montpelier.[39] This Bible is slightly less developed in script and ornament than the manuscript of the Necrology and Rule of St. Benedict executed in St.-Gilles in 1129 (Fig. 21 and tailpiece).[40] We can safely attribute it to the late 1120's. I reserve the detailed analysis of the miniatures for another article dealing with general problems of form rather than chronology.

The early manuscript from La Grasse has been included in order to show that already before 1108 there existed in the region of St.-Gilles many of the presuppositions of the sculptural forms of the façade. We see in this manuscript the characteristic presentation of isolated figures standing before pilasters as in the

35. The inscriptions on the sculptures are undated and have not yielded any precise conclusions concerning the periods of the individual carvings. They are by other hands than the inscriptions of the crypt wall, but seem to belong to the same general period —the second quarter of the twelfth century.

36. This dating is accepted by Porter, Oursel, Hamann, Terret, Aubert, etc. The growing acceptance of the Cluny ambulatory capitals as works of 1089-1095, or at least prior to 1113, also strengthens the attribution of the earlier sculptures of St.-Gilles to the 1120's.

37. According to Aymeric de Peyrac, the mediaeval chronicler of Moissac, who attributed the portal of Moissac to the abbot Ansquitilius (1085-1115). See Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les Cloîtres de Moissac*, Paris, 1897, p. 66 note 2. This dating has been questioned by many writers, but I have presented new corroborating evidence in my Columbia University doctoral dissertation on Moissac (May, 1929). The foliate capitals of the narthex of Moissac, which are slightly later than the tympanum (cf. the Samson, reproduced by Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 1923, ill. 338, with the figures of the tympanum and porch), were copied in the cathedral of Cahors on the north pier between the choir and the nave. This portion of the cathedral was consecrated in 1119.

38. Nîmes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 36. It is a commentary on Paul's epistles composed of excerpts from the works of St. Augustine. The manuscript is dated by the colophon on the first page – "Domnus Rodbertus, Crassensis coenobii abbas [in] sancti Pauli apostoli aepistolas opusculum beati Aurelii Augustini.... notasse narratur." Rodbertus was abbot of the monastery of La Grasse from 1086 to 1108. The guard leaf includes a copy of a charter of Bernard Guillem, count of Cerdagne, giving St.-Martin-du-Canigou to the abbey of La Grasse in 1114. For a description of the manuscript see *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, VII, Paris, 1855, pp. 545-547.

39. A later mediaeval inscription on fol. 1 reads: "ad usum fratrum capucinorum conventus Monspeliensis catologo inscriptus sub littera B." The Provençal origin of the manuscript is confirmed by the script and the ornament.

40. British Museum, Add. ms. 16979. The manuscript of 1129 exhibits more fracture and ligature than the Bible, but the scripts are practically contemporary. In the latter, f still descends and sometimes terminates above in a hooked curve, two details already abandoned in ms. 16979, in which, on the other hand, we observe the unions oc, pp and rr—advanced details beyond the stage of Harley 4772.



FIG. 13—*St. Michael. Detail of Portal*



FIG. 14—*Christ Addressing Mary and Martha. Detail of Frieze*

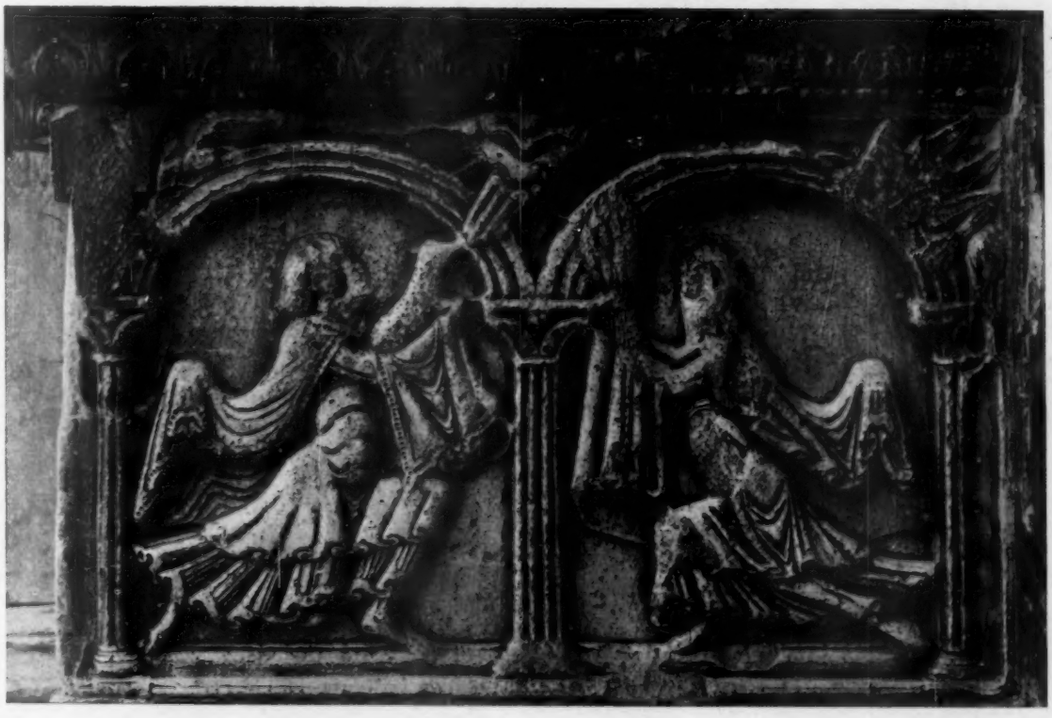


FIG. 15—*Offerings of Cain and Abel. Podium of Central Doorway*

*St.-Gilles: Sculptures*



FIG. 16—*London, British Museum: Harley 4772. Fol. 140v. II Kings*



FIG. 17—*St.-Gilles: Apostle Thomas. Detail of Portal*



FIG. 18—*St.-Gilles: Murder of Abel. Podium of Central Doorway*

niches of St.-Gilles, the elaboration of an abstract, spatially suggestive environmental framework, and the minute subdivision of draperies, which swathe the body, into numerous angular and radially clustered lines.

In the Bible from Montpelier the abstract environment is further developed and subtly complicated, the figures are set within spatial frames and are themselves shaded and modeled. The draperies have become more fluent, more substantial and natural in the pleating of folds and movement of contours. In the third manuscript (Fig. 21) the draperies are simplified. They adhere more closely to the body. But the body has acquired a new voluminousness and is set more prominently in space, which is suggested by the structure of the frame and the overlapping of solid bodies. The draperies exhibit a corresponding development of substance and modeling, although constructed schematically.

The miniatures of the Bible offer analogies not only to the earliest sculptures of the façade, but to the slightly later friezes as well. The Christ addressing Martha and Mary in the Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 14) resembles the figures of the Lord in the second and third medallions of the intial I (Fig. 1), and the upper part of the Christ in the Denial of Peter is related to the Lord in the first medallion. The draperies of the latter should also be compared with the St. Michael of the south door (Fig. 13). The peculiar chevron folds of Michael's arm and shoulder recur on the drapery of the Lord between the second and third medallions.

A second initial in the same Bible, by another—undoubtedly contemporary—artist, provides further material for comparison (Fig. 16). The king, in his forked beard, wavy torso folds and unstable posture, is, I think, a product of the same regional school and the same period as the St. Thomas of the façade (Fig. 17), that, of all the apostles there, is nearest to the stage of the manuscript from Grasse. The king recalls also the unclassical posture of one of the flagellants of Christ on the frieze of St.-Gilles. The animated drawing of this initial has an even closer resemblance to the carvings of the podium of the central portal, especially the sculptures of Cain and Abel (Figs. 15, 18) and the hunting scenes. The peculiar involvement of the frames, the excited peripheral beasts and figures, the pervasive, violent energy of highly flexible, impulsive beings, all these aspects of the sculptures reappear in the initial embodied in very similar schematized forms.

Instructive for the tendencies of the later sculpture of St.-Gilles is the comparison of the miniature of 1129 (Fig. 21) with the relief of the Payment of Judas (Fig. 19), which belongs to the 1130's or 1140's. The latter is more advanced plastically and spatially; but the simplification of the more plastic and more naturalistic masses, the richness of spatial relations, the overlappings, penetrations, and movements in depth, already appear in the miniature, in however schematic a form.

The reader will discover further parallels if he will compare these miniatures with photographs of other details of the façade of St.-Gilles.

I do not mean to conclude that the sculptures and the miniatures coincide exactly in date. I wish only to indicate here that the tendency toward the formal types of the sculptures of the façade is already evident in Provence at the end of the eleventh or very beginning of the twelfth century, and that closely related forms were produced in the manuscripts of the region during the 1120's. Hence the

probability that the sculptures are in great part of the 1120's and 1130's is very much strengthened.

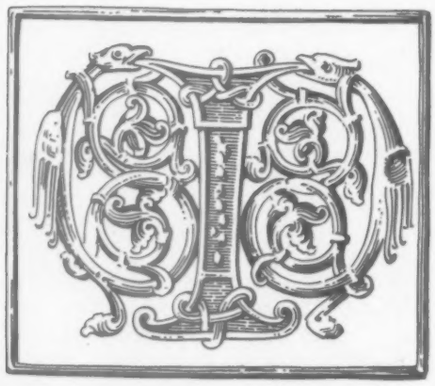
The consequences of these documents for the interpretation of the Romanesque art of Provence cannot be drawn without a detailed study of the sculptures themselves. They impose on us, however, the necessity of reconsidering the Provençal works which seemed to have been classified forever by the researches of de Lasteyrie. We can no longer assert with Aubert that "de Lasteyrie.... has established with complete proof, basing his views on style of drapery, armor, iconography, and above all, inscriptions and documents that the masterpieces of Provence cannot be dated before the middle and second half of the twelfth century."[41] Aubert did not undertake to quote the arguments, most of which seemed to him incontrovertible, but he expressed the fear that "those who wished to date the sculpture of Provence too far back have made too free a use of the volumes we possess upon the churches of that region."

Among these was Arthur Kingsley Porter, who, without knowledge of the earlier inscriptions, had concluded from analysis of the figures and from comparison with various dated monuments that the sculptures of St.-Gilles were created in great part between about 1135 and 1142.[42] He had deduced also an early dating for the ribbed vaults of the crypt. It is impossible to accept the whole of his argument—especially his inversion of the relations of the friezes of Beaucaire and St.-Gilles,[43] and his theory of an Angoulême Master in Provence—but I believe that he was correct in his insight that the sculptures of St.-Gilles antedate those of the west façade of Chartres. The first styles of St.-Gilles were probably created as early as 1129.

41. Marcel Aubert, *French Sculpture of the Beginning of the Gothic Period 1140-1225*, in *Pantheon*, New York, 1930, p. 56.

42. *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, I, p. 297.

43. Like de Lasteyrie (*op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.), Porter overlooked the numerous evidences in Beaucaire of the simplification, reduction, and schematization of the frieze of St.-Gilles. A comparison of the groups representing Pilate and the Flagellation in Beaucaire and St. Gilles (Porter, *op. cit.*, ill. 1296, 1322) will reveal the process and its direction. The misconception of the flagellants in Beaucaire, the arrested and undirected movements, the unstable seat of Pilate, betray the imitation of St.-Gilles on a lower aesthetic and conceptual level. It is necessary to correct the mistaken view of Beaucaire; otherwise our dating of St.-Gilles would seem to imply the attribution of Beaucaire to the very beginning of the twelfth century. We must point out, finally, that the Virgin and Christ relief in Beaucaire (Porter, *op. cit.*, ill. 1299) is very probably of the second half of the twelfth century. The inscription alone would indicate this.



*Initial from British Museum Add. ms. 16979 (after Copy)*



FIG. 19—*St.-Gilles: Payment of Judas. Detail of Frieze*

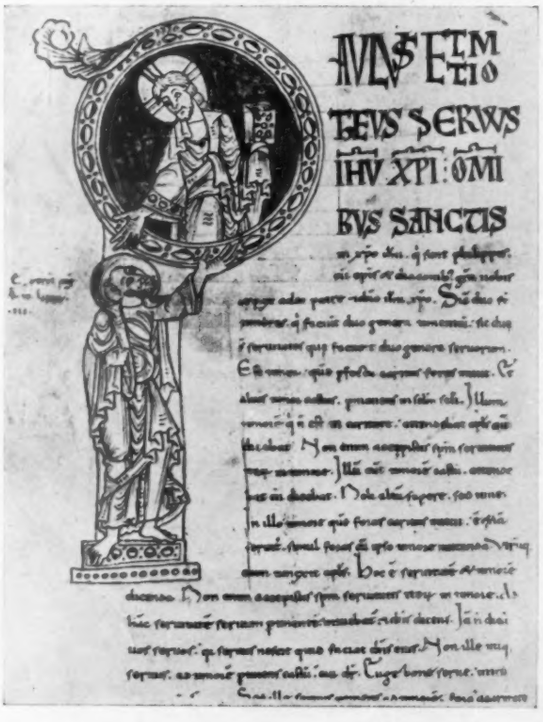


FIG. 20—*Nîmes, Bibliothèque Municipale: Ms. 36*

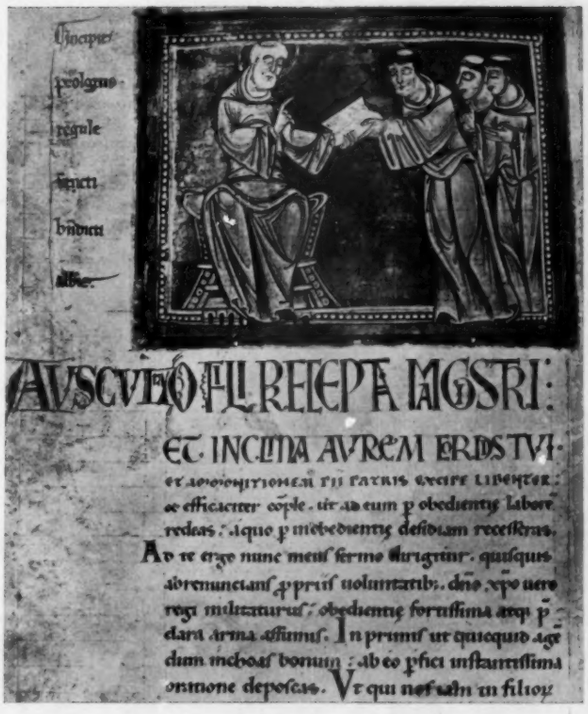



FIG. 21—*London, British Museum: Add. ms. 16979. Fol. 21v*



FIG. 1—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Annunciation, here Ascribed to Hubert van Eyck*

# THE FRIEDSAM ANNUNCIATION AND THE PROBLEM OF THE GHENT ALTARPIECE

By ERWIN PANOFSKY

IN 1932 the collection of Early Flemish paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of New York was enriched by a fine and rather enigmatical Annunciation acquired and formerly owned by Col. Michael Friedsam (Fig. 1). It has been tentatively attributed to Petrus Cristus, with the reservation, however, that it is "almost a van Eyck."[1]

To the attribution to Petrus Cristus there are several objections. The Friedsam painting does not show the technical characteristics of the other works by this master (the handling of the medium being "more archaic," as I learn from an eminent American X-ray expert,[2] nor does it fit into his artistic development. Those who support the attribution to him, consider the Friedsam picture as a comparatively early work, which would account for its unusual "delicacy and translucency." But the earliest known pictures by Petrus Cristus, who was born at Baerle near the border of Holland and can be traced at Bruges as late as 1444, are, as a matter of fact, less akin to those of Jan van Eyck than are his late pictures. He begins with a comparatively soft and generalized manner, no less Dutch than Flemish (portrait of Sir Edward Grymestone in the London National Gallery, portrait of a Carthusian in the Bache collection in New York), and then gradually acquires both a deeper understanding of the van Eyck style and a thorough knowledge of the compositional types evolved in the School of Tournai, while his technique clarifies as well as hardens (the two Lamentations in the Metropolitan Museum and in the Brussels gallery, the St. Eligius, dated 1449, in the Philip Lehman collection in New York, the Berlin diptych of 1452). Not until as late as in the second half of the sixth decade does he become an orthodox imitator of Jan van Eyck, taking, however, the *later* style of the great master as his model (Frankfort Madonna with the Carthusian, dated 1457, "Onze Lieve Vrouw ten drooghen Boome," datable around 1462).[3]

1. Bryson Burroughs and Harry B. Wehle, *The Michael Friedsam Collection*, Section II of the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXVII, 11 (November, 1932—also printed separately), pp. 14 ff., with illustration. The picture, allegedly coming from the collections of the Prince of Charleroi and the Duke of Burgundy, was in the collections of M. Parent and the Countess O'Gorman (both Paris), before it was purchased by Col. Friedsam, and was published for the first time in the Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives in aid of the Free Milk Fund for Babies at Kleinberger's (Catalogue by H. G. Sperling, with a preface by M. J. Friedländer, pp. 28-29). Friedländer also considered it to be "particularly close to Jan van Eyck." Otherwise, it was but incidentally mentioned by M. J. Friedländer, *Von Eyck bis Bruegel*, 2nd edition, 1921, p. 21, and *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, I, 1924, p. 158. The theory expounded in this article has been laid before the members and guests of the College Art Association in an address briefly summarized in *The New York Times* of March, 1934. I wish, however, to state once more that the attribution to Hubert van Eyck was suggested to me by my friend Dr. Hanns Swarzenski.

2. Mr. Alan Burroughs, who was kind enough to show me his shadowgraphs of other pictures by Petrus Cristus and the brothers van Eyck.

3. As to the chronology of Petrus Cristus cf. Otto Pächt in *Belvedere*, 1926, p. 155. Pächt's statements strike me as conclusive in that the Brussels Lamentation

Thus, the Friedsam Annunciation is, on the one hand, too "Eyckian" to be considered as an early work of Petrus Cristus, and, on the other hand, too "archaic" in its composition, its coloring, and its perspective to be placed among his mature or late paintings. This purely chronological argument is corroborated by two essential factors: *quality* and *iconography*. Although the heads and some other parts are badly rubbed, and the beautiful blue of the Virgin's mantle has gone "sick," the Friedsam picture is definitely beyond the capabilities of Petrus Cristus, who, with all his skill and soundness, never achieved that peculiar richness and, if I may say so, that homogeneous density which distinguishes the works of the brothers van Eyck, and which is also discernible in the Friedsam Annunciation. Even when Petrus Cristus actually copied an Eyckian picture, the result is characterized by a certain emptiness and bareness, observable both in the two-dimensional pattern and in the visualization of space, which strikes us as a vacuum instead of as being filled with a dense chiaroscuro atmosphere, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the fact that Cristus had a fuller command of linear perspective that even Jan van Eyck had. Cristus' neat and orderly mind trusted geometrical accuracy rather than pictorial intuition,[4] and in a jocular way one might say that if you take an Eyckian picture and deflate it by means of an air pump, the result is a Petrus Cristus. Thus, for example, the Last Judgment recently purchased by the Metropolitan Museum was copied by Petrus Cristus in his Berlin diptych of 1452. But while the Last Judgment in the Metropolitan Museum—certainly Eyckian in style, whoever its actual author may be[5]—shows a dense entangled crowd af figures, an amazing richness in chiaroscuro values, and what I may call a cosmic uproar, even in the earthly scenery where earth and sea give forth their dead, Petrus Cristus reduces and clarifies the composition by isolating a limited number of clean-cut groups and figures in a bare and empty space (Figs. 3 and 4). Moreover, he eliminates that mysterious lettering to convey theological ideas and even cabalistic notions in which so many Eyckian pictures abound.[6]

On the other hand, there is a close similarity between the Friedsam Annunciation

and kindred specimens are certainly comparatively early works, while the actual imitation of the van Eyck style sets in at a much later period and reaches its culminating point in such pictures as the Madonna "ten drooghen Boome" (published by G. Ring in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N. F. XXX (1919), pp. 75 ff.). It seems to me, however, that the previous view of Petrus Cristus' development, according to which an orthodox Eyckian style was superseded by the influence of the Tournai school, should not be simply reversed. The phase characterized by the emphatic influence of the Tournai school appears rather as an intermezzo lasting from about 1449 (St. Eligius) until the middle of the sixth decade. As to the actual existence of the Tournai school, contested by Renders in his well-known book, *La solution du problème van der Weyden-Flémalle-Campin*, I may refer my readers to K. Tolnai, *Der Ursprung des Stils des Jan van Eyck*, in *Münchner Jahrbuch d. bild. Kunst*, N. F , 1932, pp. 320 ff.; A. Burroughs in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, 1932-1933, pp. 131 ff.; and L. Scheewe in *Zeitschrift f. Kunstgeschichte*, III (1934) pp. 208 ff.

4. Cf. G. I. Kern, *Grundzüge der linearperspektivischen Darstellung bei Jan van Eyck*, 1904, and in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1912, pp. 27 ff. and 268 ff.; furthermore, E. Panofsky, *Die Perspektive, als symbolische Form* in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1924-1925, pp. 256 ff. I think that the Madonna with St. Barbara, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and a Carthusian Monk, in the Rothschild collection, which with its rather stiff and sweetish figures and its unimaginative landscape (the most attractive elements are copied from the Rolin Virgin in the Louvre), should never have been attributed to Jan van Eyck, is also a work by Petrus Cristus; all the more so as the latter apparently maintained particularly close relations with the Carthusian order (Madonnas in Berlin and Frankfort, Portrait of a Carthusian Monk in the Bache Collection in New York).

5. Cf. below, p. 471.

6. Cf. W. H. James Weale and M. W. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art*, 1912, pp. 44 and 153 ff.; and P. Durrieu, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, 1920, I, pp. 77 ff.



FIG. 2—*Richmond, Cook Collection: The Three Maries at the Tomb, by Hubert van Eyck (Replica?)*

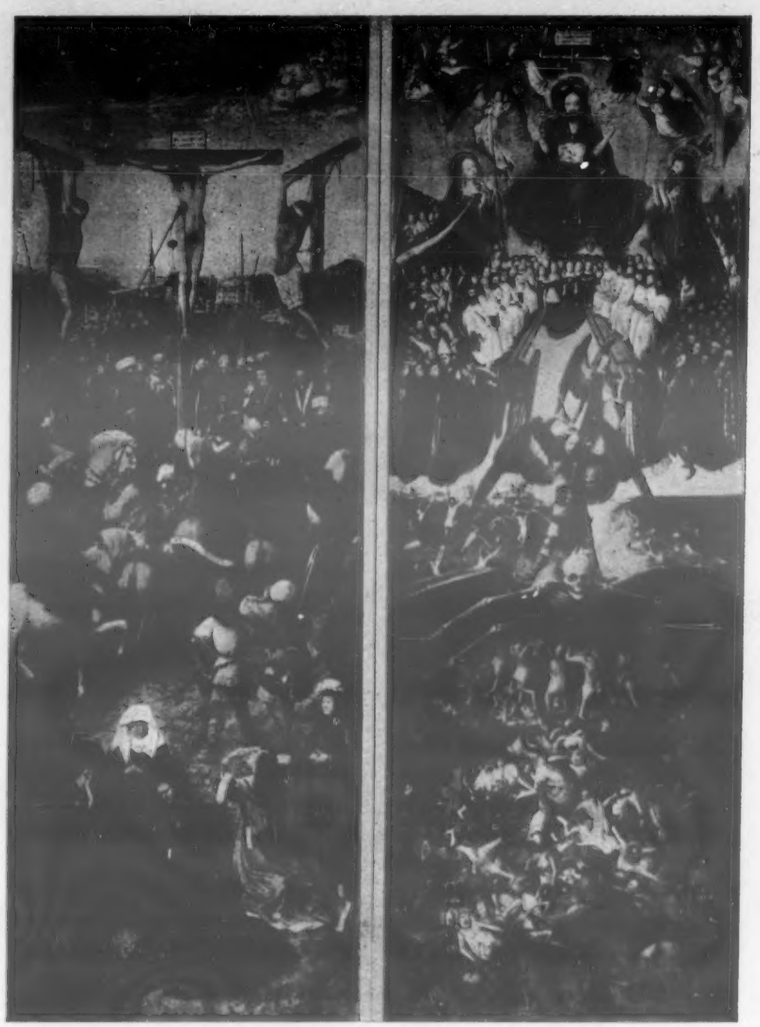


FIG. 3—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Crucifixion and Last Judgment, by Jan van Eyck, or Follower*



FIG. 4—*Berlin, Deutsches Museum: Last Judgment, Annunciation, and Nativity, by Petrus Cristus*

and the Three Maries at the Tomb in the Cook collection (Fig. 2), which is either an Eyckian original earlier than anything in the Ghent Altarpiece, that is to say prior to 1425 or 1430, or a replica of such an original.[7] But even in the latter case this replica—executed well before 1472 because it was subsequently provided with the escutcheon of Philippe de Commines whose estates were confiscated in that year—would reflect the stylistic characteristics of its original to the same extent as does, for instance, the Miraflores altarpiece. The picture, full as it is of that "disguised symbolism" which is so characteristic of Eyckian art[8] (apart from the Hebrew inscriptions in the garments I should like to mention the red marble lid of the gray sarcophagus, which obviously alludes to the "red stone" worshipped in the Pantocrator Church at Constantinople because the dead Christ was believed to have been embalmed on it, and the sun which rises in the left upper corner of the picture to symbolize the Resurrection, while the general light comes from the right,[9] this Cook picture is the closest stylistic comparison I know of the Friedsam Annunciation. The form and modeling of the hands, especially that of the angel in the Cook picture compared to that of the Gabriel in the Friedsam Annunciation, the shape and proportion of the ears (as far as discernible in the New York panel),[10] the type of the profile heads (cf. the Magdalen in the Cook picture with the Gabriel in the Friedsam Annunciation) are very similar in both paintings, although the Cook picture is somewhat less compact—fluffier, so to speak—than the Friedsam panel. This is true even of the plants, which in the Friedsam picture are portrayed with so much precision that they can easily be identified by botanists, whereas they are more generalized in the Three Maries; but they show a similar taste and feeling in both instances (cf. the sweet woodruff seen behind the right wing of the Gabriel (Fig. 8) with the fig-treelike plant growing behind the sarcophagus).[11] In both pictures South European pottery occurs in unusual places, namely the flower vase in the Annunciation and one of the ointment jars, a regular "alborello," in the Cook picture. It is a significant fact that in a fifteenth century variation on the latter that "alborello" is replaced by the usual golden box: it was a motif too personally Eyckian to be taken over in a more conventional replica.[12] The same taste for exotic pottery shows also in the

7. Cf. Weale and Brockwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff., and M. W. Brockwell, *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House....*, 1932, pp. 67 ff. The Cook picture was first ascribed to Hubert van Eyck by G. Hulin de Loo in the *Catalogue of the Bruges Exhibition* of 1902 (no. 7). His attribution was, and is still, a matter of controversy, and a decision is difficult because of the unsatisfactory condition of the panel (note particularly the head and hair of the angel). Personally, I feel that it is an excellent replica rather than an original, but that it reveals, even so, the "sovereign power of genius," as M. J. Friedländer puts it, and that this genius is that of Hubert van Eyck.

8. Cf. E. Panofsky, *Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait* in *Burlington Magazine*, LXIV, pp. 117 ff., and Tolnai, *loc. cit.* Some suggestions pointing in the same direction are also to be found in K. Smits, *Iconographie van de Nederlandsche Primitieven*, 1933.

9. Cf. Weale and Brockwell, *loc. cit.* As for the "red stone" (λίθος ἐρυθρός), cf. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile*, 1916, pp. 498 ff. The symbol of a rising sun in connection with the Resurrection of Christ is also used in Dürer's woodcut B. 45.

10. The ears in Petrus Cristus' paintings are generally characterized by narrow proportions and by the fact that they are separated from the cheek by a marked vertical groove.

11. I am indebted to Mrs. Eleanor Marquand for her expert help in matters botanical.

12. Illustrated, e. g., in Weale and Brockwell, *op. cit.*, pl. XII. It is also remarkable that the author of this picture shrank from taking over the picturesque figures of the three soldiers, apparently echoing the fanciful types evolved in French and Italo-French book illumination (note particularly the pseudo-classic armor of the soldier crouching in front of the sarcophagus and the fantastic headgear of the others), and replaced them by one rather commonplace figure. On the other hand, he felt obliged to insert the figure

beautiful Spanish tiles, partly ornamental and partly inscribed with the opening words of the Eastertide anthem of the Blessed Virgin, REGINA CELI LET (ARE), which are seen in the building of the Friedsam Annunciation.[13]

The linear perspective, too, shows in both pictures what I should like to call archaic overcomplication and audacity, fundamentally different from the self-assured moderation and soberness characteristic of the perspective in the paintings by Petrus Cristus.[14] The building in the Friedsam Annunciation is presented in that bold oblique view which is much more frequent in late fourteenth and early fifteenth century painting (both in Italy and in the North as far as it was influenced by the Italian Trecento) than in the "classic" style of both Italian and Flemish art as formulated around 1430. The vanishing lines of the front and the porch converge already at one single point, but the vanishing lines of the tiled floor do not yet conform; the windows seen in the interior of the building form a perspective unit by themselves, and the top of the big pointed arch bridging the entrance does not lie on the same vertical axis as does the top of the crocketed molding with which the arch is encircled. A similar contradiction between daring purpose and insufficiency of technical means is to be found in the Cook picture, where the right front of the sarcophagus is also "correctly" foreshortened, while the vanishing lines of the upper surface scarcely converge at all, and the lid, placed at an irregular angle, appears incredibly long.

Next to the Cook picture, the closest stylistic analogies to the Friedsam Annunciation can be observed in the lower part of the Adoration of the Lamb in the Ghent altarpiece (Figs. 7, 24), in comparison with which the style of the Friedsam picture is a little more archaic while it is advanced in comparison with the Three Maries at the Tomb. The head of the Magdalen, which seemed to be somewhat similar to that of the Gabriel in the Friedsam Annunciation, recurs almost literally in the left group of worshippers in the Adoration of the Lamb (Fig. 7, back row, third from the left; cf. also the fantastic headgears with those found in the Cook picture). The vegetation in the middle foreground of the Adoration shows the same characteristic qualities as in both the Cook Three Maries and the Friedsam Annunciation, namely a peculiar luxuriance and richness in detail, yet a lack of the sparkling substantiality and, at the same time, atmospheric softness that strike the

of Christ, the substitution of the scene of the Three Maries for the actual Resurrection having become obsolete in the fifteenth century. A similar combination can be found, for istance, in the Munich Ressurrection ascribed to Dirk Bouts (M. J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, III, 1925, pl. XXIX) or in the Cologne Resurrection by the Master of the Lyversberg Passion (particularly reminiscent of both the Cook picture and its altered copy); the more usual thing was, however, to show the Three Maries only as small figures approaching from the background.

13. A similar glorification is to be found in the Ghent altarpiece, where the panel with the Maria Annunciata is surmounted by a lunette with the prophet Zacharias, whose scroll bears the inscription *Exulta filia Syō iubila, Ecce, rex tuus veīt* (Zach. ix: 9).

14. It is not by accident that Petrus Cristus was the first Northern painter who made all the vanishing lines of a three-dimensional unit meet in one mathematical point (cf. Kern, *loc. cit.*), and that one of his few real innovations consists of the invention of the "Raum-Eck Portrait," showing the person in a perspective space determined by the rear wall, one lateral wall, and a section of the ceiling, with its foreshortened beams (Grymestone Portrait, Drawing of a Falconer in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut at Frankfort, attributed to Petrus Cristus by Panofsky, *Die Perspektive als symbolische Form*), for Cristus handles perspective with unfaltering skill and is in this respect superior to Jan van Eyck. It is, however, significant that he applies it exclusively to a "normal view," that is, to buildings and rooms defined by frontal and orthogonal planes, and refrains from such oblique views as can be seen in the Friedsam picture.



FIG. 5—*Gabriel. Detail of the Annunciation Shown in Fig. 1*



FIG. 6—*The Virgin and St. John the Baptist, by Hubert van Eyck, from the Ghent Altarpiece Shown in Fig. 24*



FIG. 7—*Detail of the Adoration of the Lamb, by Hubert van Eyck, from the Ghent Altarpiece Shown in Fig. 24*

beholder in the scenery appearing in the further background of the Adoration of the Lamb (and its four wings), or in the landscape prospect of such pictures as the Rollin Virgin in the Louvre. The figure of the Virgin Mary in the Friedsam picture, characterized as it is by its thickset proportions, combined with a certain flatness and somewhat lethargic simplicity of outline (similar qualities to those observed in Belgian and Lower Rhenish sculptures of about 1410 to 1430),[15] resembles the standing figures in the foreground of the Adoration of the Lamb, while the draperies of the Gabriel are similar to those of the kneeling prophets in this picture, as well as to those of the enthroned Virgin in the upper zone of the Ghent altarpiece (Figs. 5, 6, 7). The Fountain of Life in the Adoration of the Lamb, finally, shows a perspective construction characterized by the same mixture of bold intensity and downright faultiness that struck us in both the sarcophagus in the Cook picture and the building in the Friedsam Annunciation.

Thus, we are led to the conjecture that the Friedsam Annunciation, far from being a work by Petrus Cristus, was executed by one of the brothers van Eyck, presumably by him who was responsible for the Three Maries at the Tomb and the lower part of the Adoration of the Lamb, and is certainly prior to the Annunciation in the Ghent altarpiece, which is unanimously acknowledged to be one of the latest items in this gigantic composition, or rather conglomeration of pictures. This much now can be proved, apart from other considerations, by purely iconographical means.

In the Mérode altarpiece by the Master of Flémalle (Fig. 27, around 1425) a new "realistic" interpretation of the Annunciation is manifested. The meeting between Gabriel and the Virgin takes place in a unified Flemish interior, the "thalamus Virginis" of which I have spoken in a previous article;[16] and Jan van Eyck was zealous to take over this new conception in the Annunciation in the Ghent altarpiece, directly influenced by the Mérode altarpiece, as has been conclusively proved by Tolnai.[17] Petrus Cristus, of course, retained this modern arrangement in his Berlin Annunciation of 1452, while emptying and systematizing the spatial environment in his usual way (Fig. 4).

The Friedsam Annunciation, however, shows a totally different arrangement. The Virgin is portrayed standing in the porch of an ecclesiatical building symbolizing the Temple, to the staff of which she was attached as a kind of Jewish vestal, and the angel approaches her from the exterior.

This type of composition originated in Byzantine art[18] and was therefore particularly frequent in Italian Dugento and Trecento painting, where we find numerous Annunciations showing the Vingin in a more or less elaborate architectonic structure or shrine, while Gabriel approaches her from the open (Figs. 9 and 10). The shrine of the Virgin, originally framing or foiling rather than actually enclosing

15. Illustrated in A. Goldschmidt, *Gotische Madonnenstatuen*, 1923, figs. 21 and 26.

16. *Burlington Magazine*, 1933, *loc. cit.*

17. Tolnai, in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, loc. cit.;* while Smits, *loc. cit.*, erroneously ascribes the invention of the bourgeois interior scheme to Jan van Eyck.

The iconography of the Annunciation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries will be exhaustively discussed by Mr. David Robb in an article to be published in this periodical, and to which I should like to refer my readers for further information. In the meantime, I wish to thank Mr. Robb for his generous coöperation in the present article.

18. Cf. G. Millet, *loc. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

the figure, developed gradually into a full-sized, emphatically three-dimensional, and richly ornamented building. It often shows in that oblique view of which I have spoken before and which entails daring foreshortenings, and the two figures are accordingly placed on a receding diagonal (Fig. 12).[19]

In the Northern countries this exterior type was adopted, significantly enough, by those artists who were the exponents of a definitely Italianizing tendency, and was to become a telltale feature of that second wave of Italian influences on French and Franco-Flemish art which can be observed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. It occurs, for instance, in the Dijon altarpiece by Melchior Broederlam (Fig. 14) and in the Très Riches Heures de Chantilly by the brothers Limburg (Fig. 13).

The Northern artists working on more indigenous or national lines endeavored instead to unite the Virgin with the angel Gabriel in one coherent interior. Hereby a difference can be observed between the non-Italianate *French* masters, on the one hand, and Flemish (and, to some extent, German) masters, on the other. The French masters show an increasing tendency to invest the setting of the Annunciation with an ecclesiastical character, and when the unified interior finally appeared—which achievement was due to the ingenious Master of the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut[20]—it assumed the form of a regular Gothic church, and the Virgin was often shown engaged in the performance of a ritual before the altar (Figs. 17 and 18).

Outside of France, however, and most particularly in Flanders, the more progressive artists gradually elaborated the scenery into a "realistic" bourgeois interior, thus paving the way to the conception ultimately achieved by the Master of Flémalle (Fig. 27).

The iconography of the Friedsam Annunciation is indubitably based on the exterior scheme, enriched and remodeled as it was in the outstanding specimens of Franco-Flemish Italianism around 1400. Both the Dijon altarpiece by Melchior Broederlam and the Annunciation in the Très Riches Heures de Chantilly are to be counted among the ancestors of the Friedsam picture as far as iconography, perspective, and general arrangement are concerned; and while the Chantilly miniature (Fig. 13) resembles the Friedsam Annunciation in that the Virgin is shown as a standing figure and is placed in the entrance of a foreshortened church or oratorio, the Broederlam panel (Fig. 14) foreshadows it with respect to such architectonic features as the recessed porch with its tiled floor and bench, and above all with respect to such astounding chiaroscuro as appears in the interior.

The comparative kinship between the Broederlam Annunciation and the Friedsam picture is interesting in two respects. From the point of view of general historical evolution we may infer that the regional Belgian roots of the "modern" Flemish style should not be overlooked in favor of the French ones, although this regional

19. Clm. 23215, fol. 65v, prior to 1378. Cf. P. Toesca, *La Pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia*, 1912, fig. 214.

20. Cf. P. Toesca in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1917, pp. 120 ff., figs. 3 and 5. The Morgan manuscript M. 173 (we reproduce a part of fol. 16r in Fig. 18), though rather provincial in style, shows the influence of the Master of the Heures du Maréchal Boucicaut in many other instances as well; its author shares even the master's peculiar predilection for swans, because of which he was formerly called the Maître aux cygnes.

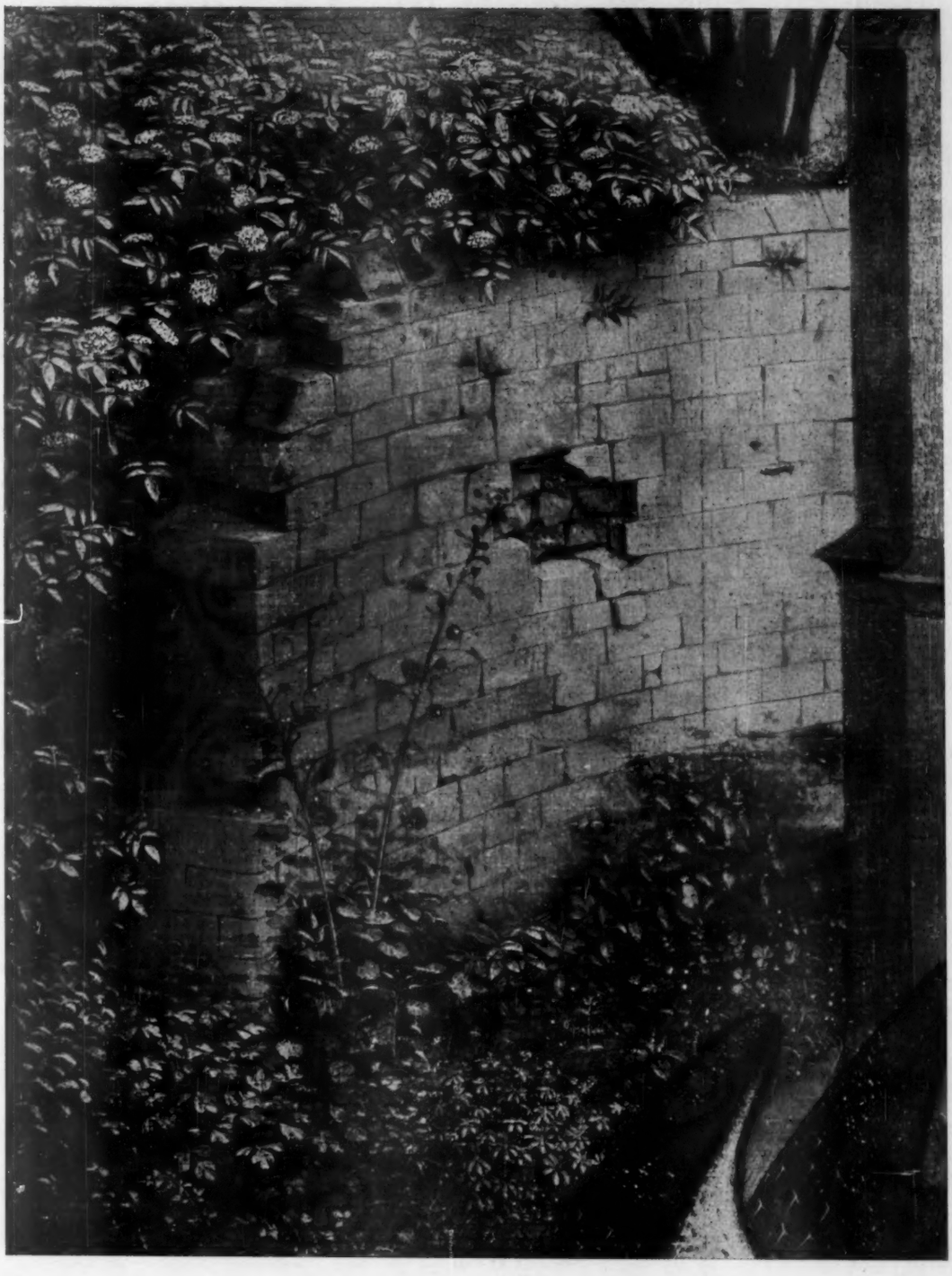


FIG. 8—*Detail of Background of the Annunciation Shown in Fig. 1*



FIG. 9—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Annunciation. Detail of Painting by the School of Segna di Buonaventura*



FIG. 10—*Private Ownership: Annunciation, by Follower of Duccio*

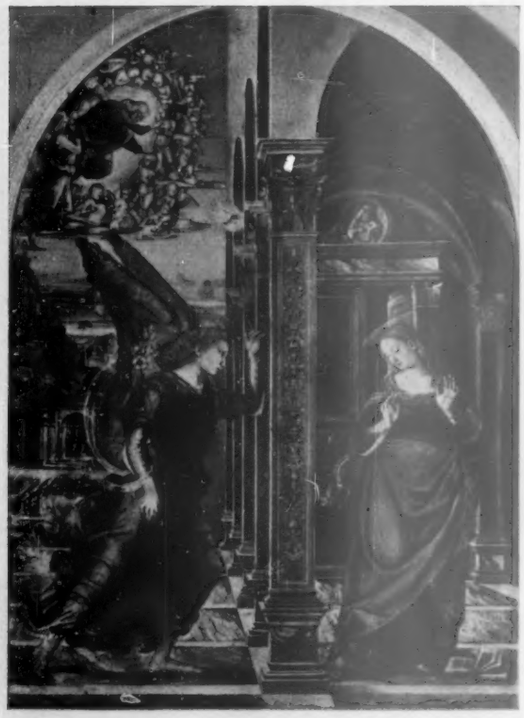


FIG. 11—*Volterra, Pinacoteca: Annunciation, by Luca Signorelli*



FIG. 12—*Munich, Staatsbibliothek: Annunciation, by Giovanni di Benedetto da Como*

tradition can be substantiated more easily in sculpture than in painting.[21] The very fact that the Duke of Burgundy thought so much of a local Belgian painter that he sent the wings of the Dijon altarpiece to Ypres to be painted is sufficient proof of the high standard of the pre-Eyckian Belgian school, and though we do not know much of Broederlam's successors (owing to conditions so unfavorable that even Broederlam's altarpiece itself would have scarcely survived, had it not been exported to Dijon), their art may be the missing link between the style both of the brothers van Eyck and of the Master of Flémalle, and that of those French panels and miniatures which after all are not quite a sufficient foundation for the style of Flemish fifteenth century painting.[22]

From the point of view of our particular problem, the comparison between the Broederlam Aununciation and the Friedsam picture corroborates the conjecture that the latter is certainly prior to the Annunciation in the Ghent altarpiece and hardly much later than the Mérode altarpiece.

In Italy the fourteenth century exterior type persisted even in High Renaissance art.[23] Signorelli's Volterra Annunciation of 1491, e. g., is nothing but a "modernized" variation of the compositional type represented by many Dugento and Trecento paintings (cf. Fig. 10 with Fig. 11), and the French fifteenth century painters were extremely reluctant to adopt the bourgeois interior type, which they did not accept before they had completely surrendered to the irresistible power of the "modern" Flemish realism.[24] A Flemish panel painter, however, and particularly a panel painter as skilful and advanced as the author of the Friedsam picture, could not have

21. Cf. especially P. Rolland, *La double école de Tournai* in *Mélanges Hulin de Loo,* 1931, pp. 296 ff. The connection between painting and sculpture, as ascertained by Rolland in regard to the Master of Flémalle and Roger van der Weyden, can be verified also in the Eyckian style, not only with respect to the school of Dijon (cf. R. Josefson in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft,* VIII (1905), pp. 198 ff.), but also with respect to the regional Belgian schools. The unpretentiously elaborate and convincingly individualized portraits on the tombstone of the goldsmith Isaacs and his wife in the Cathedral of Tournai (both died in 1401) are certainly as close to the donors' portraits in the Ghent altarpiece as (or even closer than) Claus Sluter's much-quoted jamb figures of Philippe le Hardi and his wife at the Chartreuse de Champmol.

22. Though Tolnai (*loc. cit.*) may be right in assuming a connection between the paintings by the Master of Flémalle and the miniatures by Jacquemart de Hesdin, it must be said that the stylistic gap between these two phenomena is no less wide than that between Jan van Eyck and the Master of the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut. It is possible, or even probable, that this gap was bridged by a tradition deriving from such masters as Broederlam (however much these masters were in turn indebted to their French forerunners)—a tradition carried on by those innumerable Belgian painters mentioned in treasury accounts and guilds' lists, to whom no picture can be attributed, and finally leading to both the school of Tournai and the school of Ghent and Bruges.

23. This was also pointed out by Smits, *loc. cit.*, though his explanation of the exterior type, allegedly resulting from the fact that the Italian "buuten leeft," is hardly satisfactory.

24. Before this happened, the French illuminators and painters retained (and often intermixed) their traditional iconographical schemes, namely: 1—the church interior types as shown in our Figs. 17 and 18 (this is even true of the Hours of Étienne Chevalier by Jean Fouquet, our Fig. 19, although the figures show an unmistakable influence of the tradition based on the Mérode altarpiece); 2—the Italianate exterior type (cf. for instance the Heures de Louis Duc de Savoie, illustrated in H. Martin, *Les Joyaux de l'Enluminure à l Bibliothèque Nationale,* 1928, pl. 65, or the Morgan manuscript M. 157, our Fig. 15 (fol. 57r), where the conspicuous altar reveals, however, the influence of the Boucicaut tradition); 3—a scheme which may be called the anteroom type, because the angel Gabriel enters the apartment of the Virgin from an antechamber. This last scheme is due to the fact that Jean Pucelle appropriated Duccio's Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin for the Annunciation proper (cf. Bella Martens, *Meister Francke,* 1929, p. 85 and figs. 25 and 26); and it persisted with many interesting changes, though essentially unaltered, throughout the fourteenth century and even farther. The well-known Annunciation in Aix-en-Provence is a crossbreed of this anteroom type with the church interior type.

avoided adopting the bourgeois interior type, had he been in a position to make himself familiar with it.

After around 1430 there is, so far as I know, not a single Annunciation of comparatively high quality in Flemish panel painting in which this bourgeois interior type is not adopted, excepting, of course, those altarpiece shutters in which the angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary are shown as isolated figures in grisaille so as to convey the impression of statues or high reliefs. Apart from these, the pre-Flémallesque types linger only in works of a definitely provincial or downright rétardataire character, as is the case with some embroideries, tapestries, engravings, and miniatures (Fig. 16).[25]

In one respect, however, the Friedsam Annunciation emphatically differs from its forerunners, especially the Broederlam panel, and this is, in my opinion, another point in favor of its attribution to one of the brothers van Eyck. On the corner of the building to the Virgin's left, the Broederlam picture shows a statue of Moses characterized by his horns, while on her right is the statue of another prophet whom we can safely identify with Isaiah, intrinsically connected as he was with the miraculous birth of the Saviour (this tradition, based on Is. vii: 14, as appearing on the scroll in our Fig. 29, can be traced back to the very beginning of Christian art). It is needless to say that this antithesis signifies the contrast between the Old Testament and the New Testament, all the more so as behind the statue of Isaiah there emerges a Gothic gable crowned by the sculpture of a winged angel. In other instances the contrast between the Old Testament and the New Testament is indicated by other antitheses of a similar kind (in the Chantilly miniature, e. g., Isaiah is contrasted with a definitely Jewish prophet characterized by his curiously pointed headgear, and in the well-known Aix altarpiece with Jeremiah,[26] or is even directly visualized by the figure of the Church and the Synagogue flanking the Annunciation scene on either side, as is the case with the Basle altarpiece by Konrad Witz executed about 1435 (Fig. 23). But whatever symbol may be chosen: the figure representing the Old Testament is always placed to the Virgin's left, for the contrast between the two Testaments implies, of course, an opposition between two values, one superior to the other; and it is a fundamental rule in almost every kind of symbolism that the left side ("sinister" in Latin) bears unfavorable implications.[27]

Now we can fully understand the Friedsam Annunciation. For what was an obvious symbolism in the Broederlam wing, the Chantilly miniature, and the Aix altarpiece,

25. Cf. the forthcoming article by Robb. A typical instance is the Annunciation in the so-called da Costa Hours, illustrated in Fig. 16 (Fol. 129v); this manuscript (Morgan Library, M. 399) was executed for Manuel I, possibly in Portugal or Spain, by a Flemish master who was familiar with both the formula of Gerard David (Metropolitan Museum Annunciation) and the tradition illustrated in Fig. 14, and so much adhered to the latter that he combined the bourgeois interior (including the Nuptial Bed) with a flamboyant shrine for the Virgin alone. The Prado Annunciation, often ascribed to the Master of Flémalle and, if this is correct, antedating the Mérode altarpiece (M. J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, II, 1924, pl. XLV) is, in my opinion, rather to be ascribed to a provincial (French or Savoyard) imitator, who retransformed the composition of the Mérode altarpiece according to the exterior type, while almost literally copying the figures. The case would then be comparable to that of the Fouquet miniature in which Flémallesque figures are placed in a church interior à la Boucicaut.

26. Cf. the wings of the Aix Annunciatian, now preserved in the Cook Collection (Brockwell, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.

27. Instances are too numerous and well known to be enumerated. Suffice it to recall the iconography of the Last Judgment, the Crucifixion (the two thieves), Church and Synagogue, the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and the stage setting of the frequent disputations between Vices and Virtues.



FIG. 13—*Chantilly, Musée Condé: Annunciation from Très Riches Heures, by the Limburg Brothers*



FIG. 14—*Dijon, Musée Municipal: Annunciation, by Melchior Broederlam*



FIG. 15—*New York, Morgan Library: Annunciation, by a French Illuminator*

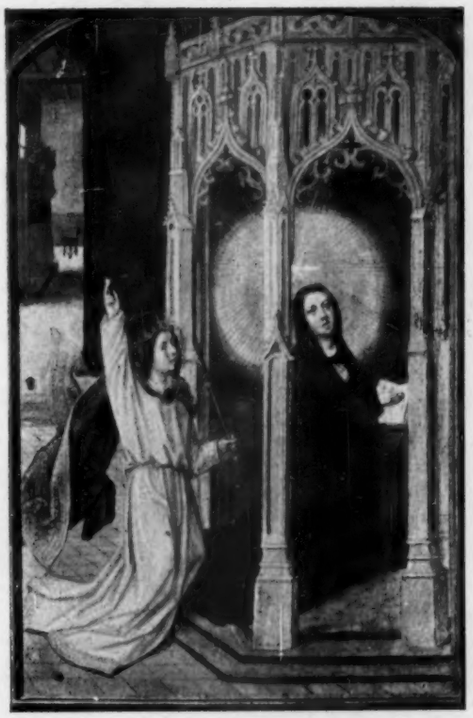


FIG. 16—*New York, Morgan Library: Annunciation by a Flemish (?) Illuminator*



FIG. 17—*Florence, Corsini Library: Annunciation, by the Master of the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut*



FIG. 18—*New York, Morgan Library: Annunciation, by the Master of the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut*



FIG. 19—*Chantilly, Musée Condé: Annunciation from the Book of Hours of Étienne Chevalier, by Jean Fouquet*

let alone the altarpiece by Konrad Witz, here gives way to that "disguised symbolism" which strikes us in the Eyckian works. Upon examining the Friedsam picture more closely we are surprised by the fact that the architecture is deliberately asymmetrical. One side, to the Virgin's right, is Gothic, the other side is Romanesque, that is to say, an outmoded style is contrasted with a more recent one, in order to express the difference between the two dispensations (even today Synagogues are usually "Romanesque," while most Christian churches are "Gothic").[28] The motive

28. In W. Körte's interesting pamphlet, *Die Wiederaufnahme romanischer Bauformen in der niederländischen und deutschen Malerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts,* Diss. Leipzig, 1930, perhaps too little emphasis is placed on the iconographical aspects of the "revival of Romanesque architecture" in Flemish fifteenth century painting and its historical antecedents in French and Franco-Flemish fourteenth century art. It is to be hoped that Mr. Alexander C. Soper, to whom I am indebted for his coöperation, will publish an article on the subject. During the fourteenth century, the assimilation of Italian Trecento art, setting in as early as the third decade (Jean Pucelle), had led, among other things, to an invasion of those Romanesque motives in which Trecento art abounds (such as round-arched windows and arcades, recessed portals, and arched corbel tables; the well-known Térence des Ducs, Bibl. de l'Arsenal ms. 664, is particularly rich in such features). Thus, Northern art had now a choice between the indigenous Gothic style and the imported Romanesque forms. During a transitional period (Très Riches Heures de Chantilly, for example), these two elements were often fused into a fantastic or imaginary unity; but with the development of fifteenth century "realism" the essential difference between them was realized, and the Romanesque style came to be recognized as something "different" from ordinary contemporary architecture. The Romanesque forms were gradually extricated from the fantastic structures appearing in the more or less Italianate pictures and book illuminations, and rediscovered, so to speak, in two concrete phenomena equally remote from the contemporary flamboyant Gothic: first, in Oriental architecture, especially in that of the Holy Land; secondly, in the indigenous architecture of the past. In fact, the Romanesque style contains infinitely more Oriental elements than the purely Western Gothic—so much so, that for a fifteenth century mind there was but little difference between such buildings as the Mosque of Omar and, for example, Neuvy-St. Sépulcre. (Even in modern art history, the expression Romanesque is of very recent origin; until the middle of the nineteenth century, all pre-Gothic architecture was called Byzantine). Thus, the Romanesque style came to be conceived as something unusual and distant, either in space or in time, surrounded with a halo either of a far-off sacredness, or of old age. It seems undeniable that Jan van Eyck, who was chiefly responsible for the "Romanesque Revival," was attracted to the Romanesque style from a purely artistic point of view, the style of the heavy plastic figures in his mature works being congenial to a Romanesque feeling rather than to a Gothic one; and we can observe how he gradually felt his way to an almost archaeologically correct Romanesque style through the intermediary stages of thirteenth century Gothic (Berlin, Virgin in a Church), a hybrid transitional style (Mellon Annunciation), and a style Romanesque in intention but not yet "in the flesh," (discernible in the Rolin Virgin). Yet it would seem that in his pictures, Romanesque forms are invested with a well-defined iconographical meaning. They appear, on the one hand, in representations of the actual Jerusalem, as in the Crucifixion discussed in note 76 (this applies also to the Three Maries at the Tomb in the Cook Collection and accounts for the use of Romanesque forms as symbols of the Old Testament in the Friedsam picture); on the other hand, they appear in those cases in which the conception of a far-off, quasi-unreal environment, yet glamorous and connected with the idea of Holy Places, took a mystical turn—the Heavenly Jerusalem as described in Rev. xxi and Isaiah liv: 13 being substituted for the Earthly Jerusalem, so to speak. This accounts for the curious fact that Jan van Eyck consistently and exclusively used Romanesque architecture, of a peculiarly gorgeous character, with carved capitals, marble or jasper columns, and exotic-looking floor tiles, for the visualization of a place where mortals are admitted to the presence of the Deity: Madonna van der Paele, Rollin Madonna, Dresden Madonna with an Unknown Donor, Ghent and Mellon Annunciations (since before the Annunciation, the Virgin Mary is not yet the receptacle of the Holy Spirit). The Rothschild Madonna with a Carthusian, here attributed to Petrus Cristus (cf. note 4) conforms also to this Eyckian principle. Virgins with the Infant Jesus but without donors, however, live in a Gothic or nondescript bourgeois environment. Roger van der Weyden, on the contrary, had obviously no particular aesthetic sympathy for the Romanesque style, as is quite natural in view of his general tendency towards "Neo-Gothic" slenderness, linearism, and two-dimensionality; and he used it only in the Presentation in the Columba altarpiece, where the scene had to be staged in the Temple of Jerusalem, and in two representations connected with the Nativity, namely the Adoration of the Magi in the same Columba altarpiece, and the Adoration of the Infant Jesus in the Bladelin altarpiece. In these two scenes, the Romanesque buildings are obviously used in a sense similar to that in the Friedsam picture, that is, as symbols of the Old Law, now conquered by the Birth of the Saviour; and this symbolical significance is emphasized by the fact that they appear as ruins—an iconographic innovation which was imitated in Nativities and Adorations of the Magi all over the Continent. It is quite logical that in Italian Renaissance representations of these scenes, the Romanesque—

correlative to the flowers growing out of the Gothic buttress is a stone-carved monkey, a well-known symbol of the Synagogue in opposition to the Church (cf., e. g., the Tiefenbronn altarpiece by Lucas Moser);[29] and the Gothic window corresponds to two columns markedly emphasized by their conspicuous colors. Now the window "that transformed the light of day into the Light Divine" (to quote a magnificent formula of C. R. Morey's) was recognized as one of the most expressive symbols of the Christian revelation, not only in such popular legends as that of St. Barbara, cleverly alluded to in Jan van Eyck's Antwerp picture of 1437,[30] but also in such subtle and almost sophisticated religious poems as Abbot Suger's distichs glorifying the "New Light" which streamed through the new, bright deambulatory of St.-Denis.[31] The two columns, on the other hand, cannot be anything but the two famous columns of the Old Temple of Jerusalem—so famous, in fact, that the Bible even transmits what may be called their Christian names, Jachin and Boaz. The empty niche, finally, which crowns the entrance to the innermost shrine is, of course, "waiting" for the unborn Christ, the "Key-stone" or "Lapis in caput anguli," to speak in the terms of mediaeval literature and numerous symbolistic representations[32] (cf. Figs. 20 and 21).

"Jewish"—ruins are replaced by classical—"pagan"—ones (cf. A. Warburg's analysis of Ghirlandaio's Sassetti Nativity of 1485 in *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 1932, pp. 127 ff.).

29. In Lucas Moser's altarpiece, the statue of a virgin is made to stand on a column, to the shaft of which is attached the stone-carved figure of a fettered monkey (cf. also Dürer's engraving B. 42, possibly echoing the same symbolism). Moser, however, replaced the symbolism of right and left with the equally widespread symbolism of above and below, and the same is true of the monkey in the Aix Annunciation, grudgingly staring at the supernatural rays on which the Divine Child is sent down to earth (curiously enough, this motif has given rise to the misconception that the Aix Annunciation was painted by a Satanist: cf. a discussion in *The Times*, 1931, referred to by Brockwell, *loc. cit.*, p. 16). The connection between the monkey motif and the idea of the Old Law or Synagogue can be accounted for by the fact that in several mediaeval moralistc treatises—for example the famous *Liber Floridus*—the Tree of Vices (Arbor Vitiorum in contrast to Arbor Virtutum, Arbor Mala in contrast to Arbor Bona, Arbor Sinistra in contrast to Arbor Dextra) was also called Synagoga in contradistinction to Ecclesia, and was originally held to be rooted in the vice of Cupiditas (cf. A. Katzenellenbogen, *Tugenden- und Lasterdarstellungen des Mittelatters*, Diss. Hamburg, 1933, in print). The vice of Cupiditas (later on mostly replaced by Superbia), is often personified by a monkey, that can also stand for Avaritia (cf. E. Mâle, *L'Arl religieux en France à la fin du moyen-âge*, 1925, pp. 334 ff.).

30. Cf. Panofsky, in *Burlington Magazine, loc. cit.* St. Barbara aroused the wrath of her pagan father because she had instructed his workmen to provide a new building with three windows instead of with two, in order to symbolize the Holy Trinity (cf., for instance, *Le Beffroi*, 1872/73, pp. 1 ff., and Bella Martens, *loc. cit.*, pp. 44 ff. and pl. II).

31. Sugerius, *De rebus in administratione sua gestis*, cap. 28; reprinted in J. von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch der Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters*, 1896, pp. 268 ff.:

> "Pars nova posterior dum iungitur anteriori,
> Aula micat medio clarificata suo.
> Claret enim claris quod clare concopulatur,
> Et quod perfundit lux nova, claret opus."

C. R. Morey's formula, quoted above, is to be found in his Introduction to the Catalogue of the Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, held at the Mew York Public Library, 1933-1934, p. XXII.

32. Cf. *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, cap. 32 (Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 1907, I, p. 67 and II, pl. 64) (our Fig. 20—fol. 35r of clm. 146). This interpretation is corroborated: 1—by an early fifteenth century panel in Vienna (formerly Heiligenkreuz) ascribed to either the French or the Austrian school (our Fig. 21—c. 1410/15. Cf. B. Kurth in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LVII (1922), p. 15; F. Buchner, *Beiträge zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 1924, I, pp. 1 ff.; Baldass and Buschbeck in *Jahrbuch der Wiener Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*, N. F. V (1931), p. 25), where the statue of Moses placed beneath the musical angel should be noted also; 2—by a French tapestry of about 1450 formerly in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Harold I. Pratt, illustrated in the Catalogue of a loan Exhibition of Religious Art, New York, Jacques Seligmann & Co., 1927, pl. VII (Fig. 25), which was brought to my attention by Dr. Julius Held. In both cases, the "Lapis in caput anguli" is actually put in by a seraph and a cherub, though in the case of the tapestry it seems somewhat doubtful whether the weaver understood the real nature of the "Keystone," which in his interpretation looks rather like an embroidered cushion. Note also that in Jan van Eyck's Mellon Annunciation (Fig. 22) a stained glass window with the figure of Christ in Majesty occupies, compositionally speaking, a place similar to that of the empty niche in the Friedsam picture. Another interesting instance of such an anticipation or prolepsis, here combined with the right-left symbolism discussed



FIG. 20—*Munich, Staatsbibliothek: The "Lapis in caput anguli" from Speculum Humanae Salvationis*



FIG. 21—*Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Annunciation from Heiligenkreuz, by an Austrian (?) Master*



FIG. 22—*Washington, D. C., Mellon Collection: Annunciation, by Jan van Eyck*

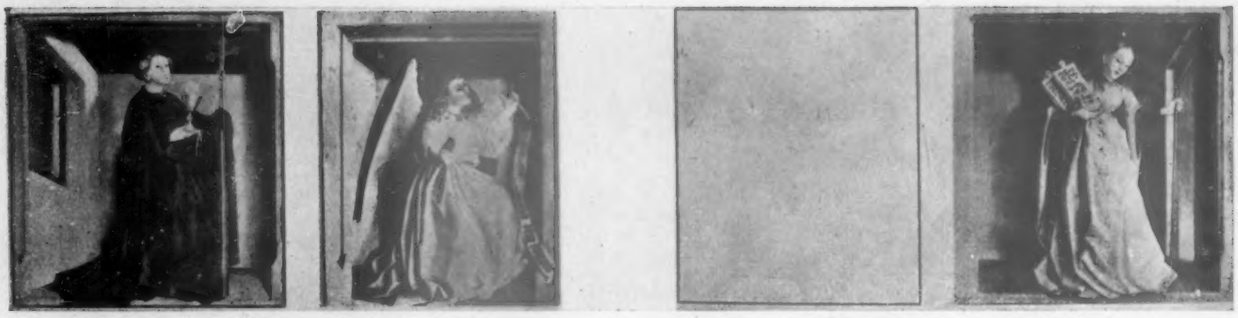


FIG. 23—*Basle, Städtische Kunstsammlung: Annunciation Flanked by Church and Synagogue from Heilsspiegel Altar, by Konrad Witz (after Wendland)*

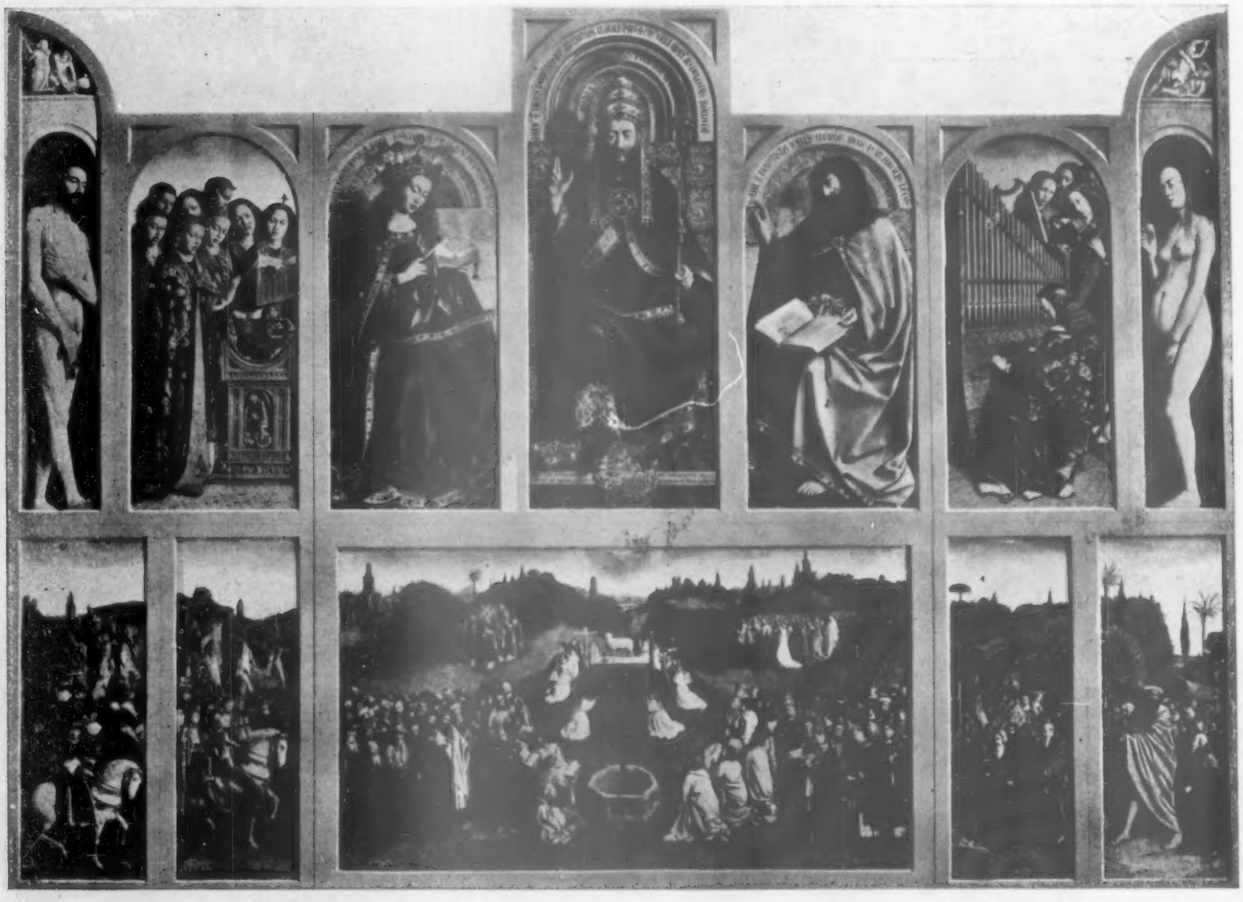


FIG. 24—*Ghent, St. Bavon: Interior of Ghent Altarpiece, by Hubert and Jan van Eyck*

Thus, the idea formerly expressed by the statues of Moses and Isaiah, or else by the figures of Church and Synagogue, namely the contrast between the era under the Law and the era under Grace, is now conveyed by such motifs as seem to be nothing but fanciful realistic details, but in reality are symbols, cleverly disguised and fusing with each other into what appears as a homogeneous picture from life.

We can even venture further. If the building with its two different halves symbolizes the Old and New Testament, the eras "sub lege" and "sub gratia," then the natural surroundings may symbolize the era "ante legem," before the Mosaic dispensation, subject as it was to the mere natural forces of "generatio et corruptio," unending growth and unending decay. It is not by accident that every work of human art outside the Temple has suffered from the destructive powers of time (consider the decay of the curving wall and of the exterior threshold which bears the undecipherable traces of an incised inscription), while, on the other hand, the luxuriant vegetation overgrows the moldering masonry (Fig. 8). The realm of religion, though in itself divided between preparation and ultimate perfection, is a complete, unbroken, and unbreakable structure as compared to the realm of mere nature before the Mosaic dispensation.

*
* *

Thus, the Friedsam Annunciation proves to be Eyckian in every respect; and as it seems to be of the early phase of Eyckian art, akin as it is to the Three Maries in the Cook collection and the lower part of the Adoration of the Lamb (witness the style), and prior to the Annunciation in the Ghent altarpiece (witness the iconography), we are confronted with the nightmarelike question: Hubert or Jan?

Although Hubert van Eyck has not escaped the misfortune of having been "wiped out" of the history of art by the same author who, two years before, had done away with the Master of Flémalle,[33] there is some reason to believe that he will survive—or revive, as the case may be—no less emphatically than the great Master of Tournai.[34]

above, is to be found in an Annunciation by Joos van Cleve, also bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum by Col. Friedsam (*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, loc. cit.*, p. 24, and our Fig. 28). In it can be seen a small altarpiece with the Adoration of the Magi, more than half hidden—in order to make the prolepsis even more explicit by the painted shutters which show the meeting of Abraham and Melchisedek, commonly known as a prefiguration of the Last Supper (*Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, cap. 16). At the pictorial left of this altarpiece, separated from it by a magnificent chandelier, the symbol of the Virgin (cf. Panofsky in *Burlington Magazine, loc. cit.*, and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, cap. 10), there can be seen a plain woodcut with the half-length figure of Moses, so that the contrast between the two Testaments is again expressed within the limits of what seems to be sheer realism. In addition, the shelf of the cupboard beneath the altarpiece shows a washbasin with a water jug and a clean towel (all symbols of virginity), while in the corner can be seen the Nuptial Bed; and behind the angel Gabriel, on top of the door through which he has entered the room, there appears a burning candle, obviously not serving for the practical purpose of lighting, since the room is flooded with daylight, but indicating the presence of the deity, and thereby bearing out the analogous interpretation of the one burning candle in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait in London (cf. Panofsky in *Burlington Magazine, loc. cit.*). Thus, this picture almost teems with intricately symbolical details, so that the overdevelopment of fifteenth century tendencies which characterizes the "mannerism" of Joos van Cleve and his Antwerp contemporaries can be observed not only in style, but also in iconography. On the other hand, the new secular tendencies of the same period are discernible in an Annunciation in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (Herri met de Bles), in which the place above the angel Gabriel is occupied by a statue of Mercury, the pagan Messenger Divine.

33. E. Renders, *Hubert van Eyck, personnage de legende*, 1933.

34. Cf. above, note 3.

For not only are the negative conclusions from the literary sources,[35] especially from the notorious inscription of the Ghent altarpiece, far from being convincing,[36] but also the material evidence of the altarpiece itself suggests a coöperation or rather succession of two different masters. The exterior (Fig. 26) displays a well-balanced compositional unity—the lower zone with its heavier framework and shallow niches filled with statuesque figures being conceived as the powerful socle of the whole structure—and shows an almost perfect homogeneity in perspective, style,[37] and iconography; the only unharmonious feature is the difference in width between the four lower pictures and the four upper ones; this difference causes a somewhat disagreeable break in the vertical framework, and the two middle panels of the upper story are too narrow to have room for figures. The interior of the altarpiece, however, actually amazes the beholder by its discordant inconsistency (Fig. 24). The five pictures of the lower zone display a thronged crowd of smallish figures (the very tallest one, the giant Christopher, is only about 80 centimeters high), in a unified landscape, and are thus entirely out of scale as compared to the seven pictures of the upper zone, with their approximately life-sized, mostly isolated groups and figures, which are set out against a flat background or emerge from darkness. In addition to this main contrast between the two zones, there can be felt a stylistic discrepancy partly between, partly within, the various pictures.

In the Adoration of the Lamb a marked difference in pictorial technique, figural types and spatial feeling is recognizable between the lower two thirds and the upper third of the picture, roughly speaking: the meadow in the foreground, including the two groups of worshippers, the kneeling prophets and apostles and the Fountain of Life, is seen in a sort of bird's-eye view and is characterized by a flatter and less

35. Cf. L. Scheewe, *Hubert und Jan van Eyck, ihre literarische Würdigung bis ins 18. Jahrhundert,* 1933, and the same author's *Sammelbericht* on recent books and articles concerning the van Eycks, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* III (1934), pp. 139 ff.

36. While such eminent scholars as M. J. Friedländer (in *Berliner Tageblatt* of June 18, 1933, and in *Pantheon,* 1933, p. 254) and M. Brockwell (in *The Connoisseur,* XCII (1933), pp. 109 ff.) more or less wholeheartedly agree with Renders, I cannot help feeling convinced by the criticisms offered by Eric Maclagan (in *Burlington Magazine,* LXIII (1934), pp. 64 ff.), L. Scheewe (in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* October 15, 1933), H. Beenken (in *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur,* 1931/32, pp. 225 ff.), P. Faider (*Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* 1933, pp. 1273 ff.), and recently F. Winkler (in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* III (1934), pp. 283 ff.). Maclagan, with all his justified skepticism against Renders' theory, indirectly supports it by quoting a statement of James Hilton to the effect that chronograms in inscriptions prior to 1450 were "*ipso facto* suspect" But even this argument can be refuted not only by the chronogram on the Council of Lausanne of 1449 (adduced by Faider, *loc. cit.*), but also by the two chronograms on the frame of Jan van Eyck's portrait of Jan de Leeuw in the Vienna Gallery (Weale and Brockwell, pp. 127 ff.). Furthermore, the critics of Renders' book have failed to point out a seemingly small but rather significant error: on p. 58, Renders accounts for the exactitude of the date indicated in the inscription of the Ghent altarpiece, by surmising that the alleged forger or forgers of the inscription had chosen the 6th of May because this was the Feast of St. John "ante portam Latinam," and therefore also the Feast of the St. Bavon Church "autrefois consacrée à St. Jean." But even if the date is really the 6th and not the 16th of May (for A. Hirsch's interpretation in *Repertorium für Kunstwiss.,* XLII (1920), pp. 77 ff., is perhaps not as negligible as assumed by Faider and Maclagan), Renders' explanation is nullified by the fact that the St. John unsuccessfully tortured "ante portam Latinam" was St. John the Evangelist, while the original patron of St. Bavon was St. John the Baptist.

37. It is true that the two center panels of the Annunciation look somewhat "fuzzier" than those with the angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary. But this can easily be accounted for by the fact that they were preserved in the Brussels Museum, where they were not so emphatically cleaned as the two others, which were in the Berlin Museum. The visitors to the Burlington Exhibition of Italian Art were amazed by the apparent lack of homogeneity of the predella panels originally belonging to the Uffizi Sacra Conversazione by Domenico Veneziano – a lack of homogeneity caused by nothing but the different treatment accorded them in the various museums and collections.



FIG. 25—*New York, H. I. Pratt Collection (formerly): Annunciation. French Tapestry*



FIG. 26—*Ghent, St. Bavon: Exterior of Ghent Altarpiece, by Jan van Eyck*



FIG. 27—*Brussels, Mérode Collection: Annunciation, with Donors and St. Joseph, by the Master of Flémalle*



FIG. 28—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Annunciation, by Joos van Cleef*

unifying treatment (the groups, with all their crowdedness, falling apart into comparatively disconnected units); while the landscape in the background, showing a softer yet more vigorous technique, easily recedes toward a low horizon, and the processions of martyrs and virgins are conceived as coherent masses, instead of resulting from an additive process.[38] The four wings of the lower zone show only faint traces of this discrepancy between the background and the foremost planes: in them the stylistic and compositional contrasts have been almost entirely smoothed away by a subsequent unification, though still discernible, I think, in the wing with the holy hermits.

While the Adoration of the Lamb can be divided, stylistically speaking, into two sections, separated from each other by one horizontal, the upper zone can be distributed into three stylistic groups, separated from each other by four verticals, as follows:

1—The three figures of the Lord, St. John the Baptist, and the Virgin Mary, which strike us as solemn hieratic images, are not only exceedingly large but also very broad in relation to their depth, less plastic and structural than other figures in the altarpiece excepting the kneeling prophets before the Fountain of Life, and, like these, distinctly Italianistic in treatment and type (note particularly the St. John, whose awkwardly foreshortened, Trecento features are almost literally repeated in some of the apostles).[39] They are foiled by the arched, nichelike backs of heavy, gilded thrones hung with brocaded clothes of honor, while the tiled floor is elaborated into a unified perspective.

2—The musical angels are much more slender in proportion (though not particularly plastic either) and only two thirds as large as the three figures in the center (their panels, too, are smaller than those with the St. John and the Virgin Mary, only 1.61 m. by 0.70 m. as against 1.65 m. by 0.755 m.); they are set out against a blueish sky, and the vanishing lines of the floor, which is paved with tiles of a more elaborate and exotic-looking kind, diverge from those in the neighboring pictures; the angel pictures differ from the others also in that the panels bear no inscriptions indicating the subjects.

3—The outermost pictures with Adam and Eve, finally, excel by powerful chiaroscuro and a much-admired naturalism. The overplastic figures are obviously based on careful observation of the nude (the hands of the Adam, e. g., are darker than the rest of his body, normally protected as it is by clothes), and emerge from dark, shadowy niches, so as almost to protrude from the frontal plane; their faces are highly individualized and masterfully foreshortened;[40] and they are seen in what

38. This contrast was rightly emphasized by M. Dvořák, *Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck* in *Jahrbuch d. Kunstslgn. d. allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* XXIV (1903), pp. 181 ff., reprinted as a book in 1925. As to the dove, etc., see H. Beenken, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Genter Altars,* in *Walraff-Richartz Jahrbuch,* 1933/34, pp. 186 ff. (this article was preceded by another in *Burlington Magazine,* LXIII (1933), pp. 64 ff.).

39. Similar types appear only in the wing with the holy hermits, which is, in my opinion, also partly due to Hubert, especially in their leader. He is generally identified as St. Paul (cf. Weale and Brockwell, p. 48), but seems rather to be St. John the Baptist (cf. note 43). The exceptional style of the three large figures here grouped, and their relationship with those in the lower part of the Adoration of the Lamb, was first observed by Dvořák, who thus established the artistic personality of Hubert van Eyck "by elimination."

40. Cf. the suggestive juxtaposition of the head of the Adam with that of the St. John in Dvořák *(Jahrb. d. Kunstslgn..., loc. cit.,* pp. 194-5).

may be called a frog's-eye perspective calculated for the actual viewpoint of the beholder, so that even such details as the left leg of the Adam and the breast of the Eve appear *di sotto in su,* and the standing plane of both figures becomes invisible.

Iconographically speaking, the program of the interior is mainly based on some chapters of the Apocalypse,[41] and the texts connected with the feast of All Saints, the liturgical office for this feast as well as more popular descriptions such as those found in the Golden Legend. Both sources had been combined or even fused with each other for many centuries,[42] but neither of them explains the Eyckian program as a whole. They account for the lower zone, but not for the upper, especially not for the fact that the three middle panels show the combination of figures known as the Deësis differing, however, from the Deësis in the strict sense of the term in that the Virgin and St. John do not act as intercessors but are interpreted as purely existential images, the St. John pointing at the Lord with the traditional πρόδρομος gesture, the Virgin reading a prayer book. In Revelations the Rex Regum is the only occupant of the heavenly throne, and at the feast of All Saints He shares it, if with anybody, with the Virgin only, while St. John merely leads the "great number of ancient and honorable fathers."[43]

Furthermore, the two sources do not account for the extraordinary prominence of the musical angels, who even in Italian polyptychs (which naturally tend towards a division of the entire composition into separate units) are never allowed to fill two full-sized panels quite by themselves,[44] nor do they imply the presence of Adam and Eve, who could be included, of course, into any scheme centered around the idea of salvation but have no specific *raison d'être* in this particular program.

E. Renders, who considers Jan van Eyck as the only author of the altarpiece, cannot account for all these discrepancies but by the rather hazardous assumption that Jodocus Vydt bought various pictures from Jan van Eyck, by the dozen, so to speak, and had them put together more or less at random.[45] Those, however, who believe

41. Chiefly Rev. vii: 6 ff. and xxi-xxii, with the description of the Fountain of Life and the Heavenly Jerusalem; in addition xix: 11 ff., accounting for the name and appearance of the Rex Regum and Dominans Dominantium. The tradition that the pictures of the lower zone represent the septem beatitudines is obviously due to the misinterpretation of an inscription on the lost frame of the middle panel, referring to the Chorus Beatorum (cf. Beenken, *Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch,* 1933/34, p. 212, and *Kritische Berichte, loc. cit.*).

42. Cf. Weale and Brockwell, pp. 38 ff., and more explicitly, R. Günther, *Die Bilder des Genter Altars* (*Studien über christliche Denkmäler,* 15, 1923). On pp. 10 f., Günther abundantly illustrates the fusion between the Apocalypse and the office for the feast of All Saints, thereby corroborating the iconographical consistency of the lower zone of the interior; but his attempt to establish an intrinsic connection between this program and that of the upper zone (pp. 22 ff.) is scarcely convincing. Cf. also the iconographical articles listed in Scheewe's *Sammelbericht,* cited in note 35.

43. This is the reason for the above conjecture (note 39), that the leader of the hermits is St. John rather than St. Paul. This conjecture is corroborated by the fact that the third figure in the front row of the hermits' procession conforms to the well-known type of St. Paul, with a bald head and a long pointed beard.

44. Even in the so-called Orcagna polyptych in the London National Gallery, now ascribed to Jacopo di Cione (R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting,* Vol. III, fig. 278; our Fig. 33), one of the few specimens in which the usual groups of angels are detached from the main subject so as to appear on separate panels, these groups consist not only of musical angels, but also include angels praying and handling incense burners. This is also true of two interesting altar wings in the possession of Mr. Seligmann, New York, probably executed about 1430 by a French artist who, according to Dr. Millard Meiss, was strongly influenced by such Italian masters as Lorenzo Monaco. Each panel is composed of a group of four angels, but only the lower pair carry musical instruments, while the upper pair are seen in attitudes of prayer.

45. Renders, *Hubert van Eyck...,* pp. 135 ff., and especially p. 137 (cf. Beenken, *Kritische Berichte,* pp. 226 f.). Beenken, on the other hand, overestimates

in the participation of Hubert but are mainly impressed by the general contrast between the upper and the lower zone—which contrast, curiously enough, was realized much later than the less conspicuous stylistic differences between or within the individual pictures[46]—were of necessity led to the conclusion that the lower zone was originally an independent altarpiece executed or at least begun by Hubert, and that the whole upper zone was added by Jan. This revolutionary theory was simultaneously put forward by E. de Bruyn,[47] M. E. Coosemans,[48] and H. Beenken.[49] Beenken, however, disagrees with the two other scholars in that he ascribes to Hubert not the lower zone as a whole, but merely the landscape in the background, including the procession of martyrs and virgins approaching the altar of the Lamb. He bases his opinion not only on stylistic analysis[50] but also on some technical observations. These he believes to be an irrefutable proof of his theory which, as far as the Adoration of the Lamb is concerned, means an inversion of that of Dvořák.[51]

Beenken's technical observations can be summarized as follows:

1—The height of the Adoration of the Lamb panel, as compared to that of the four wings, is only 1.365 m. against 1.47 m.

2—The background scenery, though morphologically forming a continuous whole throughout the five pictures of the lower zone, shows a formal break in that the sky line in the Adoration of the Lamb is noticeably higher than in the two neighboring wings, the difference amounting to approximately four centimeters.

3—The figure groups in these wings, however, are perfectly in harmony with those in the Adoration of the Lamb, so as to constitute one uninterrupted concatenation of figures.

Beenken draws the following conclusions:

1—The five panels of the lower zone were originally planned, and partly carried out, as an independent pentaptych or rather triptych (it is, in point of fact, quite probable that the two halves of either wing were originally separated only by a painted strip or shaft and actually sawed asunder in connection with the general rearrangement of the whole altarpiece).[52]

the homogeneity of the present arrangement when he says: "Keine Gedanken macht sich Renders darüber.... wie die einzelnen Teile ikonographisch und formal aus dem heutigen Ganzen herausgenommen gedacht werden können."

46. The first author who strongly emphasized this discrepancy was M. J. Friedländer. It is perhaps characteristic of an attitude of the late nineteenth century, observable in medicine, psychology, and philology, as well as in the history of art, that the observation of details preceded or even eclipsed the observation of wholes.

47. *Mélanges Hulin de Loo,* 1931, pp. 89 ff.

48. Not published, but quoted by Beenken, *Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch,* 1933/34, p. 182, note 7, after a critical report by Hulin de Loo. The writer of this article, too, may be counted among this group of scholars, as he has championed this theory in his lectures since 1929.

49. Cf. Beenken's two articles, cited in note 38.

50. In this respect the juxtaposition of such details as rocks and orange shrubs, partly taken from the distant background, partly from the nearer parts (Beenken, *Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch,* 1933/34, figs. 166, 168, 169) is hardly convincing, because in a comparatively naturalistic picture identical objects automatically appear more palpable and precise when seen at close range. In point of fact, the shrubs seen at the left of the procession of martyrs are an actual intermediary between those illustrated in Beenken's figs. 168 and 169.

51. Cf. above, note 38.

52. Cf. below, p. 466. The further assumption that on this occasion (certainly not later, because the portrait of Elizabeth Burluut was painted on the back of the hermits' wing, and the grisaille of St. John the Evangelist on that of the pilgrims' wing, as pointed out by F. Winkler in a discussion quoted by Beenken, p. 210, note 34) the two panels with the pilgrims and the hermits changed their places, as is seemingly indicated by a sixteenth century copy in the Antwerp Museum, can neither be proved nor disproved.

2—The upper part of the Adoration of the Lamb was curtailed by a strip of about eleven centimeters (and, in the center, was deprived of a rectangular projection or toppiece on which would have been painted the celestial apparition of God the Father).

3—The panel thus obtained was lifted by four centimeters, which would account for the break in the sky line.

4—Since a similar break is not to be found in the foreground and middle distance of the five pictures, especially not in the figure groups, the lower part of the Adoration of the Lamb was executed after the curtailment of the panel, while the landscape in the background, including the holy martyrs and virgins, was already in existence before the rearrangement had been planned. In other words, the background of the five pictures now forming the lower zone of the interior, and nothing else, was executed by Hubert, and the rest by Jan.

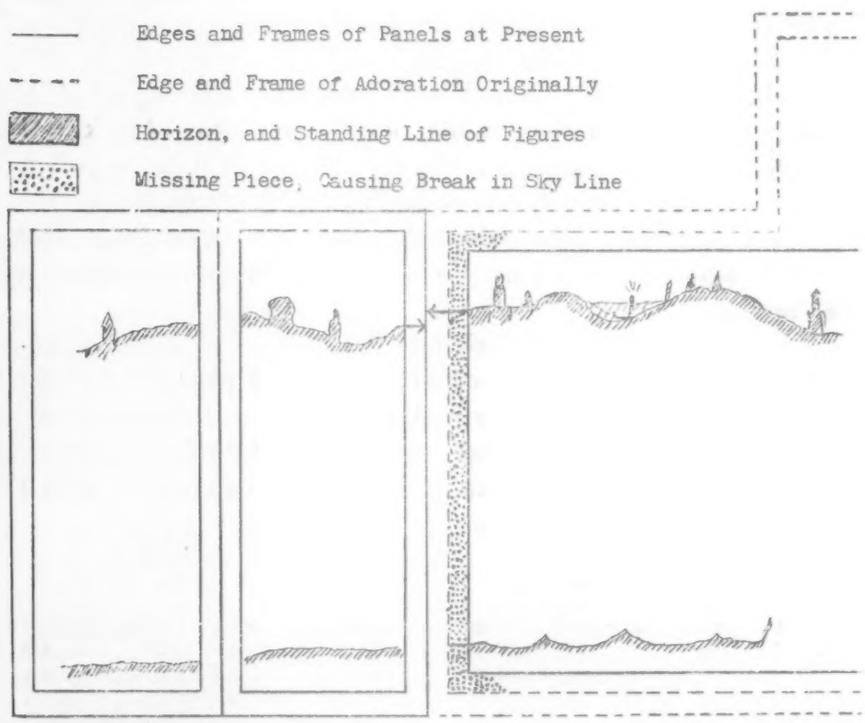



*Diagram Showing the Curtailment of the Adoration of the Lamb*

The conjecture that the Adoration of the Lamb was cut down in some way or other and on this occasion was deprived of its toppiece, is entirely convincing and, in my opinion, almost unavoidable. The existence of such a toppiece is probable for both formal and iconographical reasons and is corroborated by J. Lany's[53] observation that two of the rays emanating from the original apparition in the sky are still recognizable beneath the present surface and converge at a point considerably higher

53. Quoted by Beenken, *Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933/34, p. 180.

than the upper margin of the present picture.[54] Beenken's further conclusions, however, are based on a fundamental error. In his opinion the middle panel was cut down in order to widen its frame, which thus would appear as a more powerful support (aesthetically speaking) of the upper zone. Now, when considering Beenken's reconstruction of the original composition (Beenken's fig. 83), we are struck by his silent assumption that the frame of the Adoration of the Lamb was originally much narrower at the top and the bottom than at the sides. If this assumption, entirely unfounded and even unnatural as it is, is eliminated, nothing bears out the theory that the curtailment was achieved by merely cutting down the top of the panel by eleven centimeters, instead of cutting off five and a half centimeters from every margin. If this was the case (and there are several indications that it was),[55] the panel, curtailed all around by a strip of five and a half centimeters, was not lifted at all, but its relative position in the whole structure remained unaltered; and then the break in the sky line can be accounted for by the simple fact that these five and a half centimeters are missing on either side of the picture. The terrain being hilly and showing a slight downward slope in the middle panel, as well as a slight upward grade in the wings, this missing piece was entirely sufficient to cause the horizon to break in the background (all the more so as in such triptychs or polyptychs in which a continuous scenery is viewed through the framework as through a set of windows, a certain allowance must be made for the section seemingly obliterated by the dividing frame),[56] whereas the sequence of the figures in the foreground, aligned as they are on one horizontal standing plane, was not affected (cf. the diagram in text). Thus, the foundations of what Beenken claims to be the ultimate solution of the problem of Jan and Hubert fall to the ground. He has proved that the Ghent altarpiece was subject to a fundamental rearrangement (and in this respect J. Lany's observation of the two rays discernible beneath the present coat of colors is particularly valuable), and it is higly probable that this rearrangement is not due to one painter's having changed his mind but to the fact that the plans of the first master, presumably Hubert, were overthrown by the supervention of a second one, presumably Jan. But we are still entirely ignorant of either brother's share in their collective work. Now those who believe that the hand of Hubert can be recognized only in the pictures of the lower zone, and that the whole upper series was added by Jan, have evaded the problem of the differences and even inconsistencies that are also discernible within the upper zone;[57] and, what is more important, they have avoided the crucial question: what

54. This observation is all the more valuable, as it eliminates the possibility that the curtailment of the Adoration of the Lamb might be due to a post-Eyckian restorer (active, however, before 1558, when Michael Cocxie copied the picture in its present state), for instance to Blondeel and Scorel who rejuvenated the whole altarpiece in 1550.

55. Apart from the fact that an equal width of the frame is the only natural thing, we can observe: 1—that the two processions are rather arbitrarily cut off by the lateral margins (note, for example, the crozier of the bishop on the right); 2—that the Fountain of Life and the Altar of the Lamb are not placed on the same vertical axis; while the former is shifted a little too much to the right, the latter is shifted too much to the left. This seems to show that the half-finished picture has been tampered with, in that either on the right or on the left (in my opinion, on the right), a little too much has been cut off, and that the second painter (in my opinion, he who painted the Altar of the Lamb) tried to reinstate the equilibrium to some extent.

56. Cf., for instance, Roger van der Weyden's Crucifixion Triptych in the Vienna Museum or, even more apropos, the Annunciation in the Ghent altarpiece, where the frames obliterate a considerable section of the pictorial space.

57. It is true that Beenken, *Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933/34, pp. 228 ff., acknowledges the fact so strongly emphasized by Dvořák, that the Deësis

could induce a great master like Jan van Eyck deliberately to destroy the well-balanced equilibrium of a given altarpiece, unfinished, yet clearly indicating the intentions of its master (or even finished, according to de Bruyn and Coosemans) by superimposing those seven heavy pictures which so little agree with the lower part of the whole structure that de Bruyn felt entitled to the statement that the most admired masterpiece of modern painting was "*raté*"?

The only hypothesis accounting for both the technical and stylistic discrepancies within the upper zone and its incompatibility with the lower one is the assumption that the interior of the Ghent altarpiece resulted not from Jan van Eyck's putting some new panels all of his own creation on top of a triptych commenced by Hubert, but from his assembling several panels begun by Hubert for different purposes. In other words: the interior of the Ghent altarpiece is an adaptation of various more or less unfinished works of Hubert, put together by his brother and heir under instructions and at the expense of Jodocus Vydt who, rich and influential as he was, could easily have persuaded the original donors—among others probably the magistrates of Ghent—to cede their rights to him, all the more so because these rights were fraught with heavy obligations. In my opinion, which I offer only as a working hypothesis, the items thus united were the following three:

1—The pentaptych (originally triptych) now forming the lower zone of the interior. Iconographically it was based on the traditional synthesis between the Apocalypse and the texts connected with the feast of All Saints, and its original form may be imagined as reconstructed by Beenken. Contrary to him, however, I am of the opinion that the Fountain of Life, mentioned as it is in Rev. xxii, was included in the program from the outset,[58] and that the lower section of the Adoration of the Lamb, and not the landscape in the background, was executed by Hubert, as was already conjectured by Dvořák. In addition Hubert may be responsible for the basic composition of the wings and seems to have done some of the actual work in the group of hermits, which shows, in types and composition, some of the archaic qualities characteristic of the kneeling figures before the Fountain of Life (particularly noticeable in the contrast with the two Maries), and thereby differs from the corresponding groups in the other three wings. On the other hand, Jan's work may have encroached upon the groups of standing worshippers seen in the lower corners of the Adoration of the Lamb.

group shows a style downright incompatible with that of the authenticated works by Jan van Eyck; but he tries to explain this phenomenon by the assumption that Jan deliberately differentiated the "Seinscharakter" of the various figures. Similarly, he observes the perspective discrepancy between the musical angels and the Deësis triad (p. 183, note 10), and even considers the possibility that these two panels had originally been rectangular (cf. below, p. 466) and were destined for "some other altarpiece," but he does not doubt that this other altarpiece—absolutely anomalous from an iconographical point of view—was planned by Jan van Eyck. The conjecture that the present form of the two panels is not the original one may account for the fact that their top curve is not an exact semicircle but shows a somewhat irregular shape.

58. The perspective of the Fountain, too, is not only incompatible with that of the Altar, but is also so faulty in itself that no analogous instance can be found in the comparatively mature works of Jan, not even in the Mellon Annunciation, let alone in the exterior of the Ghent altarpiece. In the latter, the only pictures characterized by an equally faulty perspective are the three Deësis panels, the tiled floor of which shows the phenomenon known as divergence of the lateral orthogonals (cf. Panofsky in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, loc. cit.*), particularly in the picture of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 6).




FIG. 29—*London, National Gallery: The Almighty between the Virgin and Isaiah, by Giovanni da Milano*



FIG. 30—*London, National Gallery: Detail of Mass of St. Hubert, by the Master of Werden*



FIG. 31—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Mass of St. Gregory, by a Flemish Master*



FIG. 32—*Madrid, Prado: The Almighty between the Virgin and St. John. Free Copy by Jan Gossaert of Detail of Ghent Altarpiece*



FIG. 33—*London, National Gallery: The Trinity Worshipped by Angels, by Jacopo di Cione*

2—A retable consisting only of the three center figures in the upper zone, almost entirely completed by Hubert though, of course, touched up by Jan in order to make the whole as homogeneous as possible.[59] Altarpieces of this very type, that is to say shutterless retables showing God the Father and two Saints as single figures in three separate compartments, that in the center considerably taller than the two wings, are by no means unusual in Northern fifteenth century art.[60] A well-known instance is the retable in Stephen Lochner's Darmstadt Presentation of 1447; and the retables seen in the Mass of St. Hubert in the London National Gallery (Fig. 30) or in the Mass of St. Gregory in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 31) are almost retranslations of what I should like to call the "upper triptych" of the Ghent altarpiece into sculpture. I say retranslations, because this type of retables occurs in sculpture—both woodcarving and metalwork—more often than in painting. This accounts for some of the stylistic peculiarities of those three statuesque or rather relieflike images in the Ghent altarpiece, confined as they are to the shallow space of separate compartments and set out against the heavy gilded thrones the very lettering of which seems to suggest the sculptor's technique. These three panels imitate, indeed, a sculptured triptych, partly gilded, partly coated with colors, and their relation to a work such as the retable in the London Mass of St. Hubert might well be compared to the relation of Roger van der Weyden's famous Deposition in the Escorial to a wood-carved retable of what we may call the scenic type. Only, while the retable in the Mass of St. Hubert, conforming to the idea of the Church in general, shows the Eternal Father accompanied by Sts. Peter and Paul (the saints in the New York Mass of St. Gregory are not recognizable) the three Ghent panels, which, of course, were also meant to be set in an elaborate architectural framework,[61] display a pseudo-Deësis, from which we may conclude that the upper triptych of the Ghent altarpiece was originally destined for the church in which it is now, though now deprived of its original significance.[62] For the cathedral of Ghent was formerly dedicated to St. John the Baptist and was not dedicated to St. Bavo until 1540.

3—Two isolated panels showing the musical angels, slightly different in size and scale from the panels with St. John and the Virgin Mary, though, after all, combinable with the same. They were probably very little advanced in execution and are, it seems, more heavily painted over than the other pictures, so that the style of Hubert

59. Needless to say, a painter who has to complete the unfinished work of another will do his best to smooth away the differences. Thus, it is hardly possible to define the contributions of the two brothers with mathematical precision, and he who in the main agrees with Dvořák's theory is not obliged to accept his notorious dividing line, as illustrated in figs. 21-22 of his article in the *Jahrb. d. Kunstslgn.*

60. As for Italian instances, three panels by Giovanni da Milano (brought to my attention by Dr. Millard Meiss) would be iconographically identical with what I would call the upper triptych of the Ghent Altarpiece, if van Marle (*loc. cit.*, vol. IV, fig. 116) were right in assuming that the figure at the right of God the Father is St. John the Baptist. It is, however, the prophet Isaiah (Fig. 29).

61. This accounts not only for the fact (not sufficiently explained by Beenken, *Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933/34, p. 209) that the three figures are painted on separate panels, but also for the anomaly that the long inscriptions are seemingly incised into the backs of the thrones instead of being painted on the frames, as is usual with other Eyckian pictures.

62. From this point of view, it may be said that Jan Gossaert in his free copy in the Prado (Fig. 32) reinstated to some extent the original significance and even appearance of this upper triptych, in that he intuitively isolated the Deësis group and surrounded it by a richly ornamented architectural frame, reducing it, however, to a closely knit, half-length composition, and changing the gestures of the Virgin and St. John in accordance with the canonical Deësis scheme.

can only be sensed in the tight, though rather flattened, composition and in the facial types (which in some cases strikingly resemble that of the Virgin in the Deësis, and differ throughout from that of the Eve and the Virgin in the Annunciation). The unique iconography of the two pictures, which possibly had been rectangular, and were cut round at the top so as to conform to the neighboring panels,[63] is difficult to explain. As wings showing nothing but musical angels do not occur in altarpieces,[64] it seems quite probable (though by no means provable) that the two panels were originally destined to be organ shutters[65]—a Northern parallel to the famous singing angels by Luca della Robbia originally adorning the cantoria of the cathedral of Florence.

The desire to unite these three items, all left by Hubert in a more or less unfinished state, into one overwhelming structure is, in my opinion, the only imaginable motive for destroying the harmony of an independent retable, which was debased to the mere lower story of a rather ostentatious superaltarpiece, so to speak. Its wings were bisected and its middle panel was cut down as described before, so that the Eternal Father in the upper triptych had to act as a substitute for the celestial apparition originally seen in the toppiece of the Adoration of the Lamb;[66] and the two panels with the musical angels were placed beside the panels with the Virgin and St. John, from which resulted, however, the break in the vertical framework. The preëxistence of the angel panels is, in point of fact, the only explanation of this break, and also accounts for the hypothetical bisection of the lower wings, for the discrepancy would have been even more conspicuous if each of the lower wings had formed an undivided unit while the corresponding part of the upper zone consisted of two individual panels.

The only panels which Jan van Eyck had really to add to the ones inherited from his brother were those with Adam and Eve. Technically, this addition was necessary to make up for the difference between the width of the lower zone and that of the upper triptych plus musical angels, and this accounts for the unusual narrowness of the additional panels. Aesthetically, it was necessary to unify, to some extent, the two zones in general, and the pictures of the upper zone in particular. This reconciliatory purpose, now, was admirably fulfilled by the unheard-of device of the frog's-eye perspective. For not only does this device suggest to the beholder a subjective psychological attitude which virtually compels him to take the horizontal

63. The present frame overlaps the organ and two of the angels' heads in the so-called St. Cecily panel.

64. Cf. above, p. 458.

65. As to the size and shape of early organs, cf. A. G. Hill, *The Organ Cases and Organs of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 1883 and 1891, I, plates facing pp. 45 and 51, and, more particularly, a drawing in the St. Annen Museum at Lübeck, reproduced in W. Kraft and M. Heise, *Das Lübecker Orgelbuch*, p. 14. As to the iconography—a musical performance as the only subject of two monumental panels—cf. the famous shutters of the smaller organ in the St. Ulrich's Church at Augsburg by Jörg Breu, illustrated, for instance, in Curt Glaser, *Die altdeutsche Malerei*, 1924, p. 377.

66. This, by the way, accounts for another anomaly which has much puzzled the theologians: if the central figure of the upper triptych is interpreted as God the Father (cf. Peeters in *Revue Belge de Liturgie*, 1933, pp. 144 ff.), its meaning is consistent with the content of the Adoration of the Lamb, in which Christ is already represented by the Lamb, but not with its youthful appearance and its combination with the figures of the Virgin and St. John. If, however, the central figure is interpreted as Christ (cf. L. Aerts, *Verslagen en Mededelingen d. Kkl. Vlaamsche Acad. voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1920, pp. 1051 ff., and *Tijdschrift voor Liturgie*, 1926, pp. 214 ff.), there would be no God the Father in the whole altarpiece, while Christ would be represented twice.

alignment and high position of the upper pictures for granted, while, in reality, they were destined to be seen from different and lower points of view, but also smoothes out the differences in scale between the musical angels and the Deësis group. I have already mentioned that the angels are only two-thirds as high as the three middle figures. Now the frog's-eye perspective enables the artist to introduce an intermediary size for the figures of Adam and Eve (they are about five-sixtes as large as the figures of the Deësis group, and therefore about five-fourths as large as the musical angels), without the beholders becoming aware of this difference. Impressed as he is by the fact that the figures of Adam and Eve are so much pushed into the foreground that they can partly be seen from below, he is involuntarily led to the assumption that their larger size is merely due to their being so much nearer to him than the angels are. Consequently, he interprets the smaller size of the angels as a result of their being in the background, comparatively speaking, and this effect of the outermost figures, greatly strengthened by their overplastic modeling, prevents him also from being disturbed by, or even becoming aware of, the discrepancy between the size of the angels and that of the Deësis group; for the Deësis group seems to project from the plane determined by the musical angels in the same way that the musical angels seem to recede from the plane determined by the figures of Adam and Eve. Thus, the addition of the two panels with Adam and Eve made possible, aesthetically speaking, the insertion of the two panels with the musical angels.[67] It is an instructive experiment to look at a reproduction of the upper zone of the Ghent altarpiece while covering the figures of Adam and Eve with a piece of paper: the contrast in size between the Deësis group and the musical angels, scarcely noticeable under present conditions, becomes almost unbearable.

On the exterior (Fig. 26), the greater part of all these difficulties could be avoided. The lower zone could be treated as a powerful socle adorned with the large-sized figures of the donors and the painted statues of the two St. Johns, not by accident of course, was the patron of the church, figuring also in the upper triptych of the interior, juxtaposed with the author of the Apocalypse, which was the main foundation of the altarpiece below incorporated with it). The upper zone of the exterior could be elaborated into a unified *intérieur* viewed through a rectangular framework as through a set of windows.[68] Still, even here the disadvantages of Hubert's legacy made themselves felt. For the upper zone of the exterior was composed of four separate panels, namely the backs of the panels with the musical angels and Adam and Eve, the two middle ones being only half as wide as the two others (0.38 m. against 0.70 m.). This quadripartite space was almost as obstructive to a composition consisting of two figures only as to a composition of more than two. The first possibility was held to be the lesser evil, all the more so as the Annunciation was a peculiarly suitable subject for the exterior of an altarpiece, but led, of course, to the anomaly that this Annunciation had to be painted on four separate panels,

67. This answers Beenken's objection (*Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933/34, p. 209) to Martin Conway's basically sound, though much exaggerated, statement that the figures of Adam and Eve were Jan's only contribution to the interior of the Ghent altarpiece (*The van Eycks and their Followers*, 1921, p. 58).

68. In the Annunciation this fiction is carried so far that the frames cast shadows on the floor of the painted room, as though they belonged to the pictorial space, instead of to the realm of real objects.

two of which were necessarily devoid of figures. Jan van Eyck certainly made the best of this situation by filling one of the two empty spaces with a most admirable cityscape and the other with an equally admirable symbolical still life;[69] but he would have avoided the whole difficulty if he had been free to organize the upper zone of his own accord.

*
* *

To sum up, more can be said for Dvořák's attribution of the foreground section of the Adoration of the Lamb to Hubert than for the opposite theory. Confirmation of this is supplied by the Berlin Virgin in a Church, unquestionably a work of Jan van Eyck,[70] which shows an unmistakable stylistic similarity with the holy Virgins in the Adoration of the Lamb, so that it can be considered as a connecting link between the upper section of this picture and such figures as the Jeanne de Cenami in the London Arnolfini portrait of 1434.

If this is the case, the attribution of those works in Eyckian style which are considered to be prior to the Ghent altarpiece remains as problematic as ever. Since I do not know the surviving part of the Heures de Turin-Milan in the original, I dare not decide whether the miniatures lined up by Hulin de Loo under the heading of "Main G" and ascribed by him to Hubert are really Eyckian works datable as early as between 1414 and 1417, or were executed by a Dutch artist, closely following the Eyckian style, in the fourth decade of the century;[71] but their style—whoever their actual author may be—links up much better with such paintings as are authentic works by Jan van Eyck (compare the Milan Office of the Dead with the Berlin Virgin in a Church, and the Turin Prayer of William IV with the knights and judges in the Ghent altarpiece). Thus, if these miniatures are Eyckian, they are to be considered as early works of Jan rather than of Hubert, all the more so because we know that Jan was employed by the princes of Holland, while Hubert, as far as we learn from the documents, worked only for the wealthy bourgeoisie of Ghent.[72] And if they were executed by an ingenious follower of the van Eycks, this follower took Jan, not Hubert, as his model.

69. Cf. Tolnai, *loc. cit.* and Smits, *loc. cit.* p. 46.

70. Cf. even Beenken, *Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch,* 1933/34, p. 228.

71. Cf. M. Dvořák, *Die Anfänge der holländischen Malerei in Jahrbuch d. preuss. Kunstslgn.,* XXXIX, 1918, pp. 51 ff., reprinted in *Das Rätsel der Kunst...,* 1925, pp. 245 ff.; also cf. Tolnai, *loc. cit.*

72. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei,* I, 1924, pp. 68 f., and in *Pantheon, loc. cit.* As to the recent development of the controversy about the authenticity of the "Main G" miniatures, see Beenken, *Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch,* 1933/34, p. 201, note 19. If the possibility of dating these miniatures as early as 1415 to 1420 seems admissible from the point of view of the general evolution of Flemish and Franco-Flemish art, I should see no difficulty in reconciling them with the individual development of Jan van Eyck. It is entirely possible that a master originally interested in the richness of the world as a whole, and therefore subordinating even the human figure to the spatial surroundings, should endeavor, later on, to develop the plastic self-sufficiency and dignified monumentality of the figure as well. If Jan van Eyck is the author of the "Main G" miniatures, his evolution would be comparable to that of Dürer as described by himself to Philipp Melanchthon. The way which would lead from the Nativity of St. John or the Office of the Dead in the Heures de Turin-Milan, to the London Arnolfini portrait or the Dresden triptych, in which luminous space and statuesque figures are fused into a classic unity, would be, to speak in the terms of Melanchthon, a way from "floridae et maxime variae picturae" to "naturae nativa facies" and "simplicitas." As far as the relationship of scale between the figures and the architectural setting is concerned, the Mellon Annunciaton (around 1425/6) would be a logical intermediary between the Office of the Dead and the Berlin Virgin in a Church (about 1430), which in turn would lead up to the classic equilibrium



FIG. 34—*Milan, Trivulzio Collection: Crucifixion. Copy by a Flemish Illuminator ("Main H") after Jan van Eyck*

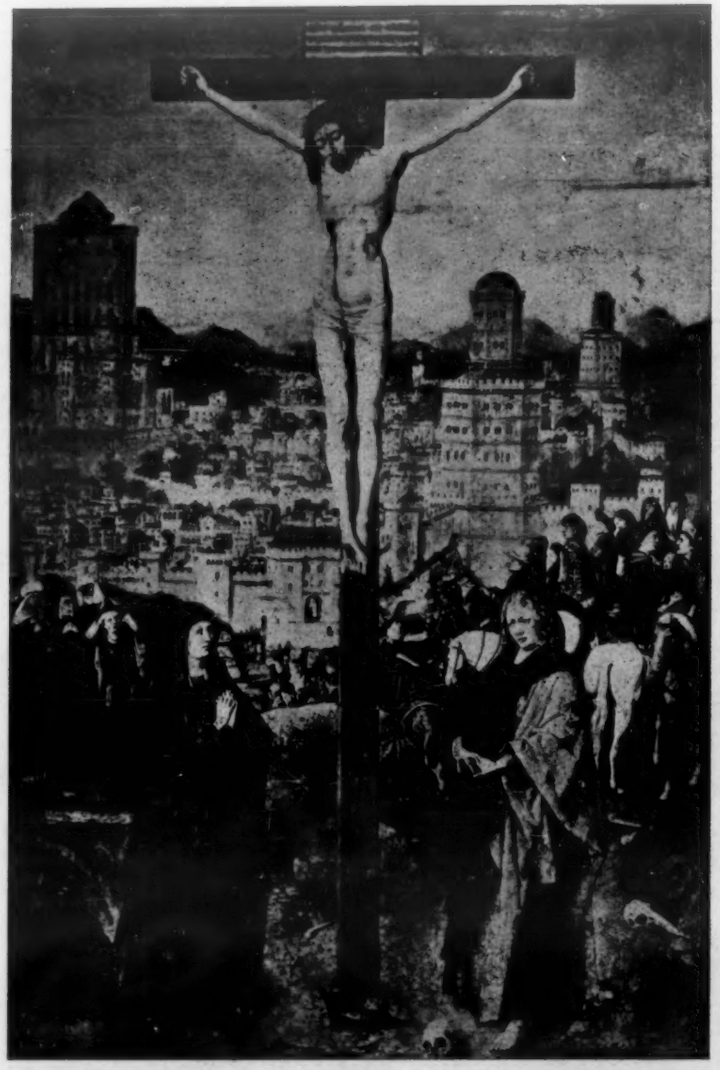


FIG. 35—*Venice, Cà d'Oro: Crucifixion. Copy by a Flemish Master after Jan van Eyck*

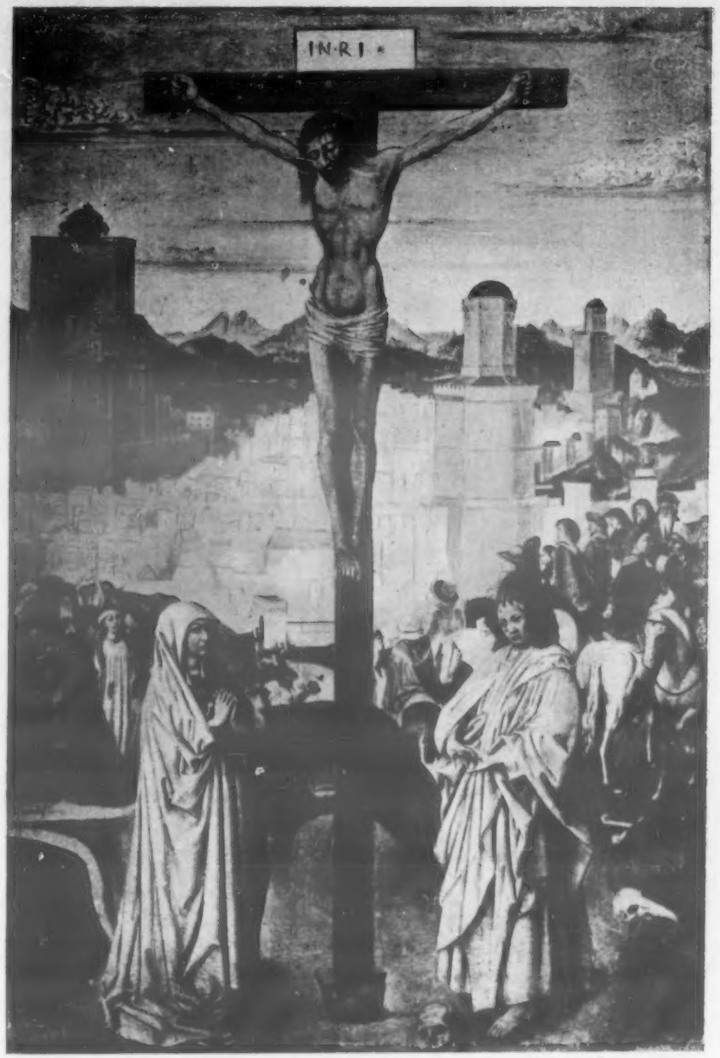



FIG. 36—*Padua, Museo Civico: Crucifixion. Copy by an Italian Master after Jan van Eyck*



FIG. 37—*Berlin, Deutsches Museum: Crucifixion, by an Eclectic Imitator of Jan van Eyck*

This applies also to the Metropolitan Museum diptych with the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment (Fig. 3). Those who believe it to be Eyckian attribute it almost unanimously to Hubert,[73] and it is certainly due to Hulin's "Main G" (at least in the main, though some parts, especially in the Last Judgment, seem to be executed by a collaborator). But here, too, the stylistic peculiarities are more compatible with those discernible in Jan's contributions to the Ghent altarpiece (cf. again the knights, judges, and virgins) and in the "Main H" miniatures in the Heures de Turin-Milan which obviously reflect the style of Jan[74] though they are certainly not his own work;[75] the grimaces of various individual figures of the diptych, too, foreshadow—or echo?—the strained expression of the singing angels, and, more especially, the frozen smiles characteristic of the Gabriel in the Mellon Annunciation (Fig. 22), the foremost rider in the Ghent altarpiece, and the St. George in the Madonna van der Paele, all three undoubtedly executed by Jan van Eyck.[76]

of the still later pictures. Incidentally, in the picture of the Virgin in a Church, the apparent contradiction in scale between the size of the figure and that of the architecture is not due to a lack of perspective skill, but rather to the intention of conveying the impression of a quasi-visionary apparition of superhuman grandeur. This intention would be consistent with the very subjective interpretation of space in this picture (cf. Panofsky in *Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg, loc. cit.*, p. 317, where, however, the picture is dated somewhat too late), and it can be corroborated by Roger van der Weyden's Chevrot triptych (the Seven Sacraments) at Antwerp, the architectural setting of which is known to be borrowed from Jean van Eyck's Virgin in a Church. For in this triptych, the Crucifix with St. John and the Virgin Mary is certainly introduced into what seems to be a perfectly real scenery, as a wholly visionary feature, and is again out of scale with the building, whereas the ordinary human figures engaged in the performance of the various rites are absolutely "correct" in size.

73. Cf. B. Burroughs in *Art News*, November 4, 1933; F. J. Mather in *Art in America*, XXII (1934), pp. 48 ff.; and Beenken, *Wallraff-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933/34, pp. 190 ff.

74. In this respect, I fully agree with M. J. Friedländer, *loc. cit.*

75. As is assumed by Hulin de Loo, F. Winkler and H. Beenken. The attribution of the "Main H" miniatures to Jan van Eyck instead of to a copyist (which attribution would of course altogether exclude the hypothesis that Jan might be the author of the "Main G" miniatures) is hardly tenable. The composition of the "Main H" Crucifixion (Fig. 34) is also transmitted to posterity in a Flemish version in the Ca' d'Oro in Venice (Fig. 35: cf. E. v. Bodenhausen, in *Jahrbuch d. kgl. preuss. Kunstslgn.*, XXVI (1905), pp. 111 ff. and Georg Graf Vitzthum, *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstage von Paul Clemen*, 1926, pp. 401 ff.), and in an Italian version in the Museo Civico at Padua (Fig. 36: cf. F. Schottmüller, in *Jahrbuch d. kgl. preuss. Kunstslgn.*, XXIII, pp. 33 ff., and Vitzthum, *loc. cit.*); in addition, the Eyckian composition has been used, as I learn from Dr. Millard Meiss, in an otherwise Mantegnesque Crucifixion of about 1470 in the Palazzo Correr at Venice. Now, it is hardly possible that the Italian author of the Padua picture could have had access to the Heures de Turin-Milan, which did not leave the Netherlands until a much later date. The Italian artist obviously used a panel as his model, either a lost original, or the Ca' d'Oro picture. Even assuming that the latter were the case, we should hardly believe that the Ca' d'Oro picture could be a copy of the Milan miniature, because it is much richer and imaginative both in the figures and in the scenery, especially the view of Jerusalem. Thus, the assumption that the miniature was done by Jan himself would lead, in any case, to the conclusion that Jan van Eyck would have executed, *propria manu*, two almost entirely identical specimens of the same composition, one a panel, the other a miniature. This is extremely, unlikely, and it is far more natural to assume that the Italian copy in Padua, as well as the Flemish copy in the Ca' d'Oro and the Milan miniature, are derived from one original panel by Jan van Eyck. This situation would be entirely analogous to the well-known case of Jan van Eyck's St. Jerome panel (cf. F. Winkler in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstage*, 1927, pp. 91 ff.), which was in the possession of Cosimo Medici and was used by an Italian master (Ghirlandaio, St. Jerome, Florence, Ognissanti), by a Flemish panel painter (Petrus Cristus, St. Jerome, Detroit), and by several Flemish illuminators, e. g. for the St. Thomas Aquinas in the Heures de Turin-Milan.

76. As to the physiognomical problem, cf. also M. Dvořák, *Das Rätsel der Kunst...*, 1925, pp. 118 ff. The Berlin Crucifixion (Fig. 37) which shows facial expressions even more strained than the pictures mentioned above as executed by or connected with Jan van Eyck, while it conspicuously lacks their glowing, gemlike quality, is, in my opinion, the work of an eclectic follower, who, on the one hand, endeavors to imitate the style of Jan, not Hubert, van Eyck and, on the other, assimilates some Tournai elements. The head of the St. John in the Berlin picture is very similar to that of the St. John in the Milan miniature of the Agony in the Garden ("Main H"); and it is a remarkable fact that Hulin de Loo, who for twenty years had championed the attribution of the Berlin Crucifixion to Hubert, now ascribes it

The picture of the Three Maries at the Tomb in the Cook collection (Fig. 2), however, emphatically differs from this group. It is less miniaturelike than the Metropolitan Museum diptych, with which it has practically nothing in common but such general qualities as are characteristic of the whole class of early Eyckian works. Within this class the Cook picture—or its original—must be distinguished from the "Main G" group of the miniatures and the Metropolitan Museum diptych, and must be linked up with the lower part of the Adoration of the Lamb and with the Friedsam Annunciation. The inference is that both the Cook picture—or its original—and the Friedsam Annunciation are to be ascribed to the master who painted the lower part of the Adoration of the Lamb, that is to Hubert van Eyck, thus being the only works which can be connected with him besides his contribution to the Ghent altarpiece. The Cook Three Maries at the Tomb—or its original—may be dated around 1420, the Friedsam Annunciation, I should say, towards the very end of his career.

*
* *

Apart from what has already been pointed out, the compositions here ascribed to Hubert van Eyck are connected with each other by one quality which distinguishes them from those by Jan: they all reveal not only a certain conservatism but also a certain persistence of that Italianizing tendency which had been so important an undercurrent in French and Franco-Flemish fourteenth century painting, but is entirely neutralized in the style of Jan van Eyck.

The Italianate types found in the Hubert sections of the Ghent altarpiece have already been mentioned. As far as the Cook picture is concerned, not only the iconographic conception as such (the use of the Three Maries at the Tomb as a substitute for, not as a mere corollary of, the Resurrection) betrays, in a work of this period, a certain attachment to a belated and basically Italo-Byzantine tradition,[77] but also the curious inclining rocks, somewhat resembling a Phrygian cap, which are seen in the left upper corner of the Cook picture are a characteristic feature of the Italianate style in fourteenth and early fifteenth century art.[78] The Italianizing

to Jan, as somewhat gloatingly emphasized by Renders, *Hubert van Eyck...*, pp. 127-128 and 164. On the other hand, the bare tree, which never appears in Eyckian works, is a favorite motif in the milieu out of which emerged the Master of Flémalle (Dijon Nativity), as well as such "Bodensee" masters as Lucas Moser: it is already to be found in the Jacquemart de Hesdin miniatures in the Brussels Book of Hours, ms. 11060/61 (cf. Tolnai, *loc. cit.*). The distorted face of the aged Mater Dolorosa resembles that of the weeping woman in the left upper corner of Roger's Deposition in the Escorial, and the *contrapposto* attitude, as well as the costume of the St. John, is equally Rogeresque. The authenticity of the picture is also incompatible with the fact that the Mater Dolorosa wrings her hands in exactly the same unusual way as does the St. John in the Crucifixions discussed in the preceding footnote (Figs. 34, 35, 36). It is scarcely possible that either Jan or Hubert van Eyck so literally and thoughtlessly took over a detail such as this pair of hands from a picture by his brother, and still less probable that Jan van Eyck so literally and thoughtlessly repeated himself.

77. Even in ivories where the scheme of the Three Maries was retained longer than elsewhere, the later specimens add the figure of Christ (e. g., R. Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques*, 1924, pl. CLXVII, no. 955), and the same thing is true of the Heures de Turin-Milan (ed. Hulin de Loo, pl. XVIII), while a miniature in the Petites Heures du Duc de Berry (Jacquemart de Hesdin workshop) shows God the Father instead of the traditional angel (*Monuments Piot*, III, 1896, pl. XI). The fact that the very copyists of the Cook picture felt obliged to insert the figure of Christ has already been mentioned in note 12.

78. Tolnai, *loc. cit.*, has already adduced the specific form of these rocks (ultimately deriving from such Byzantine miniatures as may be found, for example, in the Vatican Menologium of Basil II), to show a connection between the Dijon Nativity by the Master of Flémalle and such Italianizing miniatures

iconography of the Friedsam picture has been sufficiently expounded in the first section of this article; in its case, however, we have the advantage of convincing reciprocal evidence. Some years before Jan van Eyck fell under the spell of the Mérode altarpiece, from which he took over, around 1426/27, the bourgeois interior arrangement of his Annunciation in the Ghent altarpiece, he had executed that other Annunciation now preserved in the Mellon collection (Fig. 22). In it he had not adopted the Italianate exterior type, as had done the author of the Friedsam picture, but the church interior type as championed by the Master of the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut, to whom he is also so much indebted from a purely stylistic point of view.[79] The scene takes place in the interior of a church somewhat resembling Notre-Dame-de-Dijon as well as the cathedral of Tournai (note the straight horizontal epistyle in the triforium), though it is enriched by many unobtrusively symbolical features, and, on the other hand, invested with a feeling of intimacy by the elimination of the altar and the addition of a stool with a red silk damask cushion on it.

Thus, those works which permit us to form an opinion of the artistic personality of Hubert van Eyck seem to be produced by a master whose style is not only more archaic than that of Jan but is also rooted in a different, and, on the whole, more Italianizing tradition. The main foundation of Jan's style, as well as that of Hubert and the Master of Flémalle, is indubitably a regional tradition of which not much more has been left than the works of Melchior Broederlam and a wilderness of written documents. But while Jan van Eyck developed this tradition on the lines marked out by the Boucicaut master, that is to say on the basis of an intrinsically Northern and refinedly pictorial miniature style,[80] and while again the Master of Flémalle developed it on the lines marked out by such artists as Jacquemart de Hesdin,[81] Jean Malouel and Henry Bellechose,[82] that is to say on the basis of an intrinsically Italianate and vigorously monumental panel style (in addition to which he assimilated, as it seems, a certain amount of German elements),[83] Hubert van Eyck would occupy an intermediary position between these two.

as those in the Brussels Book of Hours, ms. 11060/61 (Jacquemart de Hesdin). They appear also in the Broederlam altarpiece and in the Tiefenbronn altarpiece by Lucas Moser, whose style is obviously rooted in a tradition similar to that of the Master of Flémalle; but they do not occur in the works of Jan van Eyck.

79. Cf. Bella Martens, *loc. cit.*, pp. 84, 103, 195, and *passim*.

80. It must be said, however, that the mature style of the Boucicaut master presupposes, in turn, the assimilation of Jacquemart de Hesdin. The astounding difference between his early works, such as the Book of Hours in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (no. 75), the style of which can be derived from the national French style of around 1400 (Paris, Bib. nat. ms. fr. 12420; ms. fr. 598, etc.), and his mature works such as the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut in the Musée Jacquemart-André, the Dialogues de Pierre Salmon (Paris, Bib. nat. ms. fr. 23279 and Geneva, ms. fr. 165), the Livre des Merveilles du Monde (Paris, Bib. nat. ms. fr. 2810), and many others, can be accounted for only on the assumption that the master worked out a synthesis of the definitely non-Italianate style of around 1400 with that of Jacquemart's full-page miniatures in the Brussels Book of Hours, ms. 11060/61, in which the first serious attempt had been made at transfering the fundamental aesthetic structure of Trecento panel paintings to book illumination; whereas the earlier French Italianists, such as Jean Pucelle and his followers, had limited themselves to appropriating mere Trecento motifs. It seems, in point of fact, that Jacquemart de Hesdin no longer approached his Italian models from the viewpoint of a mere book illuminator but "à travers le tempérament d'un peintre monumental," which is in keeping with the fact that his style seems to be rooted in the tradition represented by the Parement de Narbonne. Thus, Durrieu's error in ascribing Jacquemart de Hesdin's illumination in the Brussels Book of Hours to the Boucicaut master is intrinsically justifiable, in so far as the mature style of the latter had indeed absorbed the essential qualities of the former, who, it seems, was his senior by about twenty years.

81. Cf. Tolnai, *loc. cit.*

82. F. Winkler, *Der Meister von Flémalle und Roger van der Weyden*, 1913.

83. This will be expounded by Mr. David Robb.

# THE VIRGIN OF HUMILITY

By GEORGIANA GODDARD KING

*Magnificat anima mea Dominum . . . . quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae*

THAT Humility was a special Franciscan virtue, loved only less than Poverty, is a commonplace. It crowns the very names of the *poverello*, the *Fraticelli*, the Order itself of Friars Minor. It is the root and ground of almost all the *Fioretti*, and most especially that account of Perfect Joy with which St. Francis warmed and lightened for Brother Leo a cold and wintry walk; and it is seen almost as plain in the *Mirror of Perfection*.

Among all the confraternities that grew up in Umbria, in the Marches, and elsewhere, it is not surprising, therefore, to find vestiges of one in the thirteenth century under the advocation of the Madonna of Humility. In 1346 Master Bartolomeo da Camogli signed a picture of Nostra Donna de Humilitate (Fig. 6),[1] in the predella of which are exposed the instruments of the Passion, and, revering them, on either side, the kneeling members: some, *Disciplinati* in frocks and hoods; some, men and women of various estates. Where, as happens with a certain number of mutilated pictures, the lower member is missing—one is in the Museum of Palermo; another, in S. Domenico, Fermo; and a third, in S. Chiara, Naples—the intention may have been to destroy the record of membership. Another scrap of evidence turns up in a Catalan document of 1390, where Luis Borassá commences a contract in the name of God Our Lord and of the humble Virgin Madonna St. Mary.[2]

The type of the Madonna herself under this advocation, is as fixed as the Byzantine Hodegitria or Nicopeia, or the Eleiousa, to whom she comes so near in sentiment. She sits on a low cushion, nursing her Baby. Her skirt is twisted or draped or drawn out, and she sits with one knee up and the other down, holding Him comfortably. A glory of sun rays sprays out about the silhouette, a tiny crescent moon is somewhere at the foot, the halo is encircled by twelve stars. She is the Woman of the Apocalypse, clothed with the sun, the moon under her feet: yet not the Great Wonder in Heaven that was to serve the Counter-Reformation for the Immaculate Conception, but the Woman in the Wilderness after her child was born. "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle," says the text;[3] "they are the wings of contemplation," says the commentator. These would be hard for the painter to adapt to literal representation, but the wings are present and the Oriental posture is accounted for in some manuscripts of Beatus' Apocalypse: among them that of the thirteenth century from Las Huelgas now in the Morgan Collection (Fig. 7).

1. This is now in the Palermo Museum, coming from the church of S. Francesco.
2. Gudiol, *Luis Borassá*, p. 13.
3. Revelation xii: 1-2, 6, 14.



FIG. 1—*Cairo, Fouquet Collection: Child Harpocrates Learning to Walk. Greek Terracotta (from Drawing)*



FIG. 2—*Barcelona, Chapter Room of Cathedral: Child Jesus Learning to Walk. Catalan Painting (from Drawing)*



FIG. 3—*Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Madonna of Humility, by Donato (from Drawing)*



FIG. 4—*Rome, Vatican, Pinacoteca: Madonna of Humility, by Francescuccio Ghissi (from Drawing)*



FIG. 5—*Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli: Madonna of Humility, in Manner of Allegretto Nuzi*



FIG. 6—*Palermo, Museo Nazionale: Madonna of Humility, by Bartolomeo da Camogli*

A good deal has to be explained. How came the Virgin of Humility to take just this form? Why was it suddenly and abundantly manifested at a special moment, the fourteenth century, and in particular localities, like the Marches of Ancona and the Kingdom of Aragon? What brought the sudden suffusion of emotion into this and certain kindred themes—for instance, to Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Nursing Madonna in S. Francesco of Siena? To say the Nursing Mother is older than Christianity does not suffice. The remote and persistent tradition underlying must be recognized and traced, and then a cause be found for the sudden flowering. It is not, of course, necessary to find a single figure and unique prototype common to Italy and Spain; as the Gothic rib-vaulting came into use independently, in Northern Italy, in the north of England, and in the Isle of France, so the Virgin of Humility might well, independently, appear more than once at the conjunction of such things as the Gospels of the Infancy, the Apocalyptic Vision, and the Franciscan tenderness toward all things small or young or helpless.

It has been well suggested[4] that the Gospels of the Infancy took shape and permanence among women, from traditions transmitted by women talking among themselves in seclusion and passing on the vague memory of what once befell among children by the activities of a Child. The material is nursery lore, the style is the talk of women's quarters, in the long hours and intervals of women's work. Certainly, the care of children, and children's play, fill a large part of the field of the three principal compilations. The Protevangel of James is the most familiar to European students, from it the *Golden Legend* drew, and the Tuscan and the Flemish painters. Unlike to this one, each in its own way, the Arab and the Armenian[5] differ between themselves not so much in the actual narratives as in their whole tone and milieu. Fr. Paul Peeters, whose French translation twenty years ago made these accessible, seems hardly aware of the contrast which the fidelity of his version has preserved. He believes the actual source of both to be Syriac, and not later than the fifth century; the Arab text as it stands, translated and augmented in the sixth century, must be associated with Egypt; the Armenian version was introduced into Armenia toward the end of the sixth century, and revived and enhanced in the eleventh.[6]

In both the tone is that of murmuring, continuous talk, the scene a chamber set apart, or else frequented playing places, by the side of the road, by the spring or the well's brink. In the Armenian Gospel the action lies often in the dust of trodden ways, or outside the city gate where the ruler sits to do justice. There is one touching story of a tiny child who followed some bigger boys but could not keep up, who was lost in the wide and lonely plain. He fell asleep and did not wake till night had fallen; he began to cry; no one passed. All night he wandered there in the plain, getting always further from the hamlet, and none of the other children knew what had become of him. Indeed they had not missed him till they went home at dusk. And so the lost child after three days, what with hunger and thirst and sun, died there in the desert. The story ends as all these do: the Boy Jesus, accused as

4. André Grabar, *Deux images de la Vierge dans un manuscrit serbe*, in *L'Art byzantin chez les slaves*, I, ii, pp. 271 ff., with notes.

5. Paul Peeters, Évangiles apocryphes, II, *L'Évangile de l'enfance, redactions syriaques, arabes et armeniennes*.

6. *Op. cit.*, pp. liii—lv.

responsible for losing him in the first place, calls back the soul into the little body to testify; and then, after three hours, "Jesus said to the child, 'Go to sleep now,' and therewith he fell asleep." And there is an echo, like a far-off memory of a nursery tale, in the passage where Fray Luis de Leon says that Our Lord was minded to bear every sort of human suffering, "and, not to fail in suffering the anguish that children feel of all most keenly, Christ willed to be—and He was—a lost child."[7]

No other of the Armenian episodes is so piteous. But the Arab Gospel is full of exquisite moments. During their wanderings in Egypt the Holy Family are the guests, often, of persons of distinction, and their way of life is delicate; sometimes it is almost princely, always it is dainty. The perfumed baths of the Baby, the fresh-washed linen of His swaddling bands spread in the sun on a ruined wall, the cradle where they lay a dying baby beside Him, even the sweet smell of the clean Infant and His bedclothes still warm where He has slept, all are instruments of healing.[8] The pity, the tenderness, have passed to the Madonna of the Trecento.

Episodes of the Nativity have been trasmitted to Italian painting, like the radiance that filled the cave at Bethlehem,[9] and the Child nursing at His mother's breast.[10] The angels stationed and singing about the place are only heard, not seen; but one might compare the Florentine and Umbrian Presepio with another Syrian source, a Christmas hymn by St. Ephrem Syrus:

> Earth was to Christ as a new heaven because the
> Watchers came down and glorified Him in thee.
> The Sons of the Highest stood around thy dwelling, on
> account of the King's Son who had His abode in thee.
> Through this angels' watch thy earthly dwelling was
> made like to the heavens above.

But to Spain the Arab Gospel could come direct, from the Moslem conquest on, by Arab-speaking mothers and nurses; and indeed among the *aljamiada* manuscripts of Mudéjars is found the story of the clay birds that Jesus made and that at His bidding flew away.[11] This is not all. To the text which says that Jesus was circumcised in the cave when the eighth day came, we may trace Pacheco's insistence, in his treatise on iconography embedded in the *Arte de la Pintura*, that the Circumcision must not be represented in the temple, for Mary probably circumcised her Son herself, and certainly at home. A chapter is given in the Arab version to the arrival of Joseph at Bethlehem;[12] the Journey to Bethlehem is not unknown in early Spanish painting: there is a fine example in the Bosch collection at the Prado. The legend that the angel Gabriel conducted the Mother and Child, with Joseph, from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, which is to be traced in folk songs,[13] is not to be found in these Gospels, but it may explain pictures that have been called a Flight into Egypt in which an angel leads the way.

7. Luis de Leon, *De los nombres de Cristo*. Biblioteca Calleja, I, p. 268.

8. This part lies in chapters x-xxxiv, Peeters, *op. cit.*

9. Cf. Gentile da Fabriano, predella to the Epiphany, and Correggio, La Notte. The painting of Correggio is full of *asuntos misticos*, and the Madonna in Naples stupidly dubbed La Gitanella is in truth a variant Madonna of Humility.

10. Peeters, *op. cit.*, Arab p. 35, Armenian p. 126.

11. Cf. G. G. King, *Mudéjar*, p. 208.

12. Peeters, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

13. F. Rodriguez Marin, *Cantos populares españoles*, I, nos. 976 and 1068.

Joseph's occupation as a carpenter plays an important part: once when he has cut a timber too short he and the Child pull and stretch it to fit.[14] The same feat is told of St. Millan, in the Rioja, and the actual beam is exhibited, walled up in a pier. In Egypt the Holy Family meet a band of brigands, one of whom, Titus, protects them, and Christ promises, "Titus shall precede me into Paradise." Accordingly, in the *Vita Christi* of the Valencian Sor Isabel de Villena (1490) when the Risen Christ and the Fathers from Limbo go up into Paradise, the Good Thief is discovered already established there, and he figures, cross on shoulder, in the Romanesque fresco at S. Maria de Tahull.[15] This Gospel ends with the losing and finding of the Child in the temple, and the long conversations He held with various savants throughout the three days before He was found. If not specifically to these chapters, yet to the Arabian and Moslem scholarship of the Peninsula may be referred the scenes of long arguments with doctors, in Christ's manhood, among open books, in the frescoes of Leon cathedral and the high altarpiece of Salamanca; there are no less than three such episodes in the latter. And indeed the scene of Christ among the Doctors is recognized to have especial importance in Spain, or within the regions of Spanish influence, as at Milan, where Luini painted it.

A few fragments or vestiges have survived among the folk songs of the South, like the reference to Joseph as carpenter:

> He has no cradle—My little Son,
> His father's a carpenter—He shall make one,[16]

or to the radiance within and above the cave:

> Blest be the light of day
> And the Lord that sent light my way
> From the portal of Bethlehem:
> Blessed, I say. Amen....
>
> Fire-bells in Bethlehem are ringing,
> Flames from the door are springing,
> For there is new-born, they say
> The Redeemer of souls today.[17]

The pretty incident of the baby clothes drying on the wall has been altered, in the shift from city to peasant life: they are sunning on bushes of rosemary, with a probable reference to gossamers:

> The Virgin has washed the linen
> And spread it to dry in the sun;
> The little birds are all singing,
> And the waters laugh as they run.[18]

Professor Perdrizet selected a motto from the *Infancy* for his study of the Greek terracottas in Egypt, when he was going to describe the characteristic Egyptian love of children, a parallel with which would be Murillo's passion for babies. Familiar in

14. Peeters, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-8.

15. Cf. C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, I, p. 87. In the Last Judgment at Torcello, in the bottom row, the Good Thief is installed in Paradise. Dr. Kirsopp Lake once informed me that when Christ rose he met in Paradise the Penitent Thief with Enoch and Elijah, but he omitted to record the reference.

16. Marin, *op. cit.*, no. 3.

17. *Ibid.*, nos. 969 and 6468.

18. *Ibid.*, nos. 6500, 6501, and p. 177, note 31.

Spanish households is the *Niño de la Bola* and the cult of the *Niño* Jesus, the little boy posed on the orb of the world. Along with an amusing Greek figure of the little Harpocrates learning to walk by means of a gocart (Fig. 1), Perdrizet published a sketch of a similar one which he bought in the bazaar at Cairo.[19] A third example, intermediate in date, exists in a Catalan painting of the early fifteenth century (Fig. 2), where one angel is assisting the Child Jesus to walk, a second is urging a little bird towards Him, and a third, with the enthroned Virgin, is apparently stretching the little smock before putting it out to dry.[20] Among the Egyptian terracottas perhaps the most frequent figure is that of the child Harpocrates with his finger on his lip—a motive used at least twice, in the Marches, by Allegretto Nuzi; on the east coast of Spain, at Castellón de la Plana, it appears in a very beautiful Adoration of the Child with singing angels.[21] But the motive is not common.

These various parallels, while regrettably incomplete, are perhaps representative, and may show the presence of Coptic-Arab influence in the Spanish tradition, with all that it could bring. Just as it is certain that the east coast of Italy had contact through many centuries with Alexandria and the delta of the Nile, and that then to the Franciscans of the Marches the Armenian Gospel became accessible in the thirteenth century, and at the same time, if not before, the hymns of St. Ephrem Syrus; just so there is every reason to presume that these sources were never quite so strange to Spain, and that the great hymnographer, "the Sun of Syria, the Lyre of the Holy Ghost," should have been familiar in the south and throughout the Kingdom of Aragon. But in Italy the events following the Council of Lyons (1274) brought about direct intercourse.

Before the end of the thirteenth century the Franciscan province of Syria was established, flourishing, and "relaxed." The Spirituals in the Marches of Ancona had been arrested and imprisoned in 1280 on the grounds of apostacy, heresy, and schism, that is to say of contumacy in adherence to the principle of poverty laid dawn by their founder. The leaders, Angelo of Clareno, Liberato of Macerata, and Tommaso of Tolentino, were released in 1289 by Raimundo Gaufredi immediately on his election as Minister General, and at their own urgent request sent on a mission to King Haiton of Armenia, to Little Armenia, in Cilicia.

This Haiton had made one of those great journeys to the Mongol court of which we possess the authentic story but never enough detail to satisfy conjecture. He was gone from 1253 to 1255, and brought back records, gifts, and marvels, no doubt, although he was no more successful than others in cementing the longed-for alliance between Eastern and Western, and Islam in the end won the Mongols. Haiton ruled till 1269 and then abdicated in favor of his son Leo III, becoming a monk and not dying until 1271. Our three Franciscans, therefore, arriving nearly twenty years later, could not have talked with him, but his successor treated them well, and they had access to legend and literature. These were the years when Ramon Lull was establishing his schools of Oriental languages (1275-1311), and the Franciscan mis-

19. Paul Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Egypte dans la collection Fouquet*, p. 16, no. 57; cf. pls. lxxvii and xxi-xxviii.

20. Professor Post mentions another gocart in the ruined frescoes of a deserted Franciscan cloister at Avila, attributed tentatively to Sansone Delli (*op. cit.*, V, p. 318).

21. The central panel of this was published in *Archivio Español de Arte y Arqueología*, no. 27 (1933), pl. lxxx.



FIG. 7—*New York, Morgan Library: The Woman of the Apocalypse. Detail of Beatus Manuscript*



FIG. 8—*Torroella de Montgrí, Ermita de S. Catalina: Madonna of Humility*



FIG. 9—*Saragossa, Collection of D. Román Vincente: Madonna of Humility, from Tobed*



FIG. 10—*Penella, Parish Church: Madonna of Humility*



FIG. 11—*Assisi, S. Francesco: Madonna and Child, by Pietro Lorenzetti*



FIG. 12—*Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Madonna and Child, by Barnaba da Modena*

sionaries, like the Jesuits after them, were expected to possess the languages "understanded of the people." Angelo of Clareno had in youth mastered Greek and translated some of the fathers; the works of St. Ephrem Syrus had been known in Greek translation since the days of St. Jerome, and some may have been composed in that language. The three Franciscans, therefore, were able to know the Gospel of the Infancy by word of mouth, and the hymns by liturgical use and as literature. Though both the Armenian and the Syrian churches were reckoned by the Latins as in various degrees schismatical and heretical, we know from the records of other travelers how congenial Catholic and Nestorian clergy found each other in remote and heathen countries; St. Ephrem was universally known, and his tomb and his poetry revered—as to this day—by all, Orthodox, Monophysite, and Nestorian.[22]

The Syrian friars, however, were as bitter as the Italian in persecution of their Spiritual brothers, who, as became lovers of peace, withdrew, and in 1293 Angelo went, a homeless and persecuted wanderer, with his followers to a lonely island on the coast of Achaia, and finally returned into his own land.[23]

He retired to a hermitage in the Abruzzi. Suddenly the election of Celestine V changed the situation and the Spirituals were allowed to live in their own way as Poor Hermits of Celestine, and their congregations spread all over Italy, till the pope's abdication and the enthronement of Boniface VIII scattered them again. We know that at the time of the Council of Vienne (1311) Angelo was following the papal court about through the south of France, at Avignon and elsewhere, as the guest of Cardinal Napoleone Orsini. Under John XXII, acute persecution having recommenced, he went to Subiaco to write the History of the Seven Tribulations of the Order, and died, in 1337, ninety years old, in his hermitage at S. Maria d'Aspro in the Basilicate. There the fifteenth of June, when he died, is still kept as a saint's day: like so many of his companions, he was beatified by the spontaneous and popular and intense veneration which Rome had to acknowledge officially, though for obvious reasons the final canonization was delayed and withheld.

So, within a generation after the death of Angelo, in the Marches, at Avignon, in Catalonia and Aragon, indeed everywhere in the regions where the Spiritual Franciscans were at home, the, *asuntos misticos* sprang up and flowered, and the Madonna of Humility was among them as the Rose.[24]

It seems advisable, in searching for a possible influence from St. Ephrem upon Trecento painting, to include in the discussion various kindred themes, as was done with the Arab Gospel. In hymns and homilies, the Madonna of the Milk is amply provided for:

> Holily did the Virgin Mary give milk to the Nourisher of the Nations and support on her virginal knees Him who upholds all things.
>
> [Creation] adored when she saw the Son at the breast, pure babe nurtured by pure milk.[25]

22. Holweck, *Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, s. v. Ephrem. This convenient and delightful work must be used with caution: e. g., the events of the last forty years of the Angelo of Clareno are entirely suppressed.

23. *Ibid.*, s. v. Angelus of Clareno.

24. Cf. The Virgin of the Rose in S. Domenico, Naples, and the Confraternity of Disciplinati in Perugia called the Company of the Rose.

25. The extracts are selected from translations

Oftener, in the painting in the Marches of Allegretto Nuzi and his school, the Virgin is playing with the Child[26] (Fig. 5). But the reader, running through memories of Trecento painting, can supply a picture for every phrase. Says the hymn:

> With great love did the Virgin nurse her child,
> caress and kiss Him, whilst He made as though
> He would spring to her embrace and looked at
> her with laughing smiles as He lay, a little
> infant, wrapped in swaddling clothes in the manger.
> When He began to cry His mother
> would rise to give Him milk, fold Him in her
> arms with fond endearments, rock Him on her
> knees, and He would then be still.

Contrast with the Infant Emperor of the Byzantine tradition and the solemn Child of the Giottesques, the following:

> How loving Thou art, how humble, how vehement!
> Thy generation is both known and hidden.
> Thou castest Thyself to all, on everyone who meets
> Thee Thou smilest; Thou presentest Thy gladsome
> brow for kisses, Thy lips drop medicine of life,
> balsam flows from Thy fingers; beautiful are
> Thine eyes; see, they are turned lo Thy Mother
> who is pressed with hunger for Thy love.[27]

The last sentence explains the Madonna in Assisi, painted by Pietro Lorenzetti at some time before 1330 (Fig. 11). Pietro had not brought the subject from Siena but found it in Umbria.[28] This is the *ecstacy* of John Donne's

> Eybeams twisted [that] did thread
> Our eyes upon one double string,

though the English divine had to skirt the grotesque to achieve it, and it is not so lovely as either the hymn or the fresco, still he expresses the identical experience. This is the culmination of Pietro's devotional art, as that of Ambrogio's is the Nursing Virgin at S. Francesco, Siena.[29]

In the gallery at Ancona a Madonna of Humility attributed to the Lorenzetti brothers' school is of double significance for this investigation. The silhouette, and the posture of the Virgin, with bent head, is that of the Aragonese Virgins from Tobed and Lérida, and the gesture of the Child, one not uncommon in the type, carries back to another hymn:

> Thou sittest upon my knees and upon Thee
> all things hang.... Thou seizest hold
> of my breasts and art ruling the earth,
> the seas, and all things that are therein.[30]

And in the Ninth Hymn on the Nativity six stanzas are given up to baby charm.

found in F. Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries*, p. 248, and in *Ephraim Syrus*, selected and edited by John Gwynne, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, vol. XIII, p. 411.

26. L. Serra, *L'Arte nelle Marche*, pp. 261-314, *passim*.

27. Livius, *op. cit.*, pp. 417, 418.

28. See De Wald, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, figs. 21, 22, 23.

29. At S. Francesco, Siena, there had been a round-up of Spirituals, laymen and friars, in 1313-4, and those then disciplined lived on at least through the boyhood of the Lorenzetti—V. Lusini, *Storia della Basilica di S. Francesco in Siena*, pp. 75-78.

30. Livius, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

One of the oddities of Spanish iconography is the persistent representation of the Child as *within* the womb of the Blessed Virgin. Beatus Venter, Domínguez Bordona has named the theme; Professor Post is disposed to associate it with the feast of the Expectation of Our Lady (December 18); since in commercial and rustic art of the past two or three centuries, especially in the figure sculpture, it takes often the form of a sun with or without a child's face, attached to the Virgin's dress in the middle of her stomach, it may well be traceable to some such passage as "the Sun entered the womb, and in the height and the depth his splendours abode." This is specifically mystical, but in Beatus manuscripts and others, ranging from the tenth century to the thirteenth the Woman Clothed with the Sun is similarly decorated (Fig. 7). A Leonese manuscript of the tenth century[31] seems to represent the Annunciation, but the Child is plainly visible.

Before, however, coming to the Apocalyptic significance of our subject, it is necessary to undestand clearly that St. Ephrem's concern is something other than playing with babies, and to recognize that the more mystical significance still vaguely informs, presumably, these paintings and determines their power and their spell:

> Though Most High, yet He sucked the milk of Mary, and of His goodness all creatures suck.... While He was lying in His mother's bosom, in His bosom were all creatures lying.... He is the Breast of Life and the Breath of Life; the dead suck from His life and revive. When He sucked the milk of Mary He was suckling all with life.... She gave Him milk from Himself that prepared it, she gave Him food from Himself that made it. He gave milk to Mary as God; again He sucked it from her as the Son of Man.[32]

The brooding figures of Barnaba da Modena come nearer in their contemplation to the conception here, the grand and secret Mothers at Tortona and Pisa, before all the Virgin now at Berlin, signed and dated in 1368 (Fig. 12), the year when Paolo da Trinci had won recognition for the Brothers of the Stricter Observance:

> The bosom of Mary has astounded me that it should have room for Thee, O Lord. Entire creation was too narrow to enfold Thy amplitude. Earth and heaven were too small that by them, as by two wings, Thy Divinity should be covered. Earth's bosom was too strait for Thee, and Mary's bosom was too broad. In the bosom of Mary He dwelt and in her bosom He gave health to man....
>
> With her fingers Mary lays hold on Fire—in her bosom she bears the Sun—her mystery keeps in dread those who fain would utter it.[33]

A part of her mystery is her identification with the Woman of the Apocalypse.

Before St. Francis was Joachim de Floris, like another John the Baptist; the Spirituals were very familiar with his *Expositio in Apocalypsim,* and in the next gene-

31. R. Altamira, *Historia de España,* I, p. 336.
32. Gwynne, *op. cit.,* pp. 233-4; Livius, *op. cit.,* p. 408.
33. Livius, *op. cit.,* p. 412; Gwynne, *op. cit.,* p. 250.

ration the *Fraticelli* were nourished on the Everlasting Gospel, i. e., the *Introductio* composed by Gherardo da S. Donnino about 1254, which is accused of prophesying after the event, like the spurious commentaries on Jeremiah and Isaiah, popularly but wrongly attributed to Joachim. The association of the two great mendicant orders—"Like bright stars there shall arise in Spain and Italy two new orders wearing sackcloth"—probably explains compositions like Luis Borassá's retable. This, painted for the Poor Clares at Vich, about 1415, combines Franciscan and Dominican saints and legends and the Third Order figuring as a special entity; Syrian material, like the mission to King Abgar and Sts. Justina and Cyprian; and Apocalyptic, like the Virgin in her Expectation, with an Angel Annunciant bearing a modified message, and St. Michael alongside in the adjacent panel. Since in the system of Joachim de Floris, after the first age, that of the Old Testament, with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and after the second, that of the New Testament, with Zacharias, John the Baptist, and Christ, shall come the third state which will be the Kingdom of the Holy Ghost, and be introduced by the man in linen (Joachim), the angel with the sharpened sickle (St. Dominic), and the angel bearing the sign of the living God (St. Francis), it is small wonder that Dominicans as well as Franciscans are associated with the Apocalyptic Virgin of Humility. In the Trecento the *Disciplinati* seem to have taken the two friar founders as nearly indifferent; for instance, when the first confraternity, called *Disciplinati di Gesù Cristo,* had been broken up and suppressed at Perugia, and three new ones very shortly appeared, they were called, after the local churches, *Disciplinati di S. Agostino, di S. Francesco* and *di S. Domenico.*[34] But the paintings are found perhaps a little more often in the churches of the Franciscans, conceivably because when the Inquisition was applied to Spirituals, of every color and stamp, the *Domini Canes* were hotfoot on the track of the *Fraticelli.*

In his *Expositio,* when coming to Rev. xii, Joachim certainly identifies the Woman with *sacra mater ecclesia,* and she is nowhere explicitly *Maria Mater Dei.* Her praise is drawn from Canticles, *Electa ut sol, Pulchra ut luna,* "for this woman signifies the Virgin who should bring forth the Son of God." Maria comes back into the discourse with apostles and the faithful, and as standing by the cross, but "Christ came out of the sufferings of the Church's womb." The two eagle's wings of the woman are like the dove's wings for which the psalmist longed; they designate the grace of contemplation and they are wisdom and charity, while her wilderness prefigures the eremitic life. This is matter of the twelfth century.

In the thirteenth comes a change of heart, a new Franciscan ferment. In the fourteenth a new symbol is achieved: the old Nursing Mother has a new mystical significance, but its derivation from the Apocalyptic is manifested by the persistence of a vestige of the old Oriental posture, with one knee up and one down, by the strange arrangement of drapery in the most archaic, though not necessarily the oldest, of the Madonnas of Humility—for instance, those of Francescuccio Ghissi (1359 and thereafter Fig. 4), and the one attributed to Simone's brother Donato (Fig. 3), from Avignon (1344?). We shall probably never find the first of all.

34. E. Monaci, *Uffizi drammatici dei disciplinati dell' Umbria,* in *Rivista di Filologia Romanza,* I and II (1872-5), p. 253.

In the formation of a new icon type, like this, two elements have to coalesce: sentiment—the spiritual, symbolical, mystical—and aspect—the visible, representative, traditional. In the fire of strong emotion the fusion is achieved; the fourteenth century would have devised a phrase like *the furnace of love.*

In Italy the locus of the Madonna of Humility is in the regions of the Spiritual Franciscans—the Marches of Ancona, Sicily, Southern Italy (especially Naples), to a less degree Siena and the cities of the Emilia—but not Assisi, where the Conventuals, the "relaxed," held power. In the *laude* published by Monaci the Virgin swaddles her child with the kerchief from her own head, but she does not offer Him her milk, nor yet does she in the Nativities of Jacopone da Todi. She only reminds Him, when standing by the cross, that once she had nursed Him. Indeed Jacopone's mysticism is of a different and more intellectualized type.[35]

When dealing with the pictures in Catalonia and Aragon we can perceive some approximations that look like cause and effect. The *Fraticelli* came into Catalonia under Innocent VI (1352), Urban V (1362), and Gregory XI (1370). As early as 1352 Nicholas of Calabria was propounding some startling theses in Barcelona, and in 1354 the *Virginale,* by him and Gonzalo of Cuenca, was publicly burnt. Fray Arnaldo Muntaner, the head and front of the Spanish *Fraticelli,* taught in Puigcerda in the diocese of Urgel and stuck to his doctrine for nineteen years.[36] The earliest known Spanish Virgin of Humility appears at Palau, close to Bourg Madame, a mile and a half away from Puigcerda. The Virgin of Torroella de Montgrí (Fig. 8)—a little city by the shore which was expanded and rebuilt early in the fourteenth century and was a favorite residence of Jaime II—has also significant proximity to Peratallada. Juan de Peratallada took his name from his birthplace, or latinized it into Rupecissa; he was signalized in his order as master in theology and divinity, and missioner; he preached in Vienna and Moscow, and elsewhere, and at ninety came back to die in his own place. He wrote *Visions* in 1345-9, and a commentary on Joachim; he "stands with Arnold of Villanova and Ramon Lull in the great triumvirate of Catalan learning"[37]—and of Catalan mysticism likewise. Arnold of Villanova (1250-1316), whose codex that he presented to Clement V at Avignon opens with a consideration of Joachim, and whose life was involved with that of Jaime II and the Spirituals in Sicily, was by his own account a native of Lérida; and a Valencian scholar, Antonio Riera, defended twenty heretical propositions when he was teaching in the *studio* of Lérida.[38] And from Lérida or thereabouts has come a little Virgin closely akin to that of Tobed. Where information is still so meager and examples are so few, these three may be allowed to weigh.

Three at least of the pictures are votive and bear shields in the upper corners: the Virgin of Tobed (Fig. 9), that of Albarracin, and that of *Penella* (Fig. 10) in the south, near Concentaina. The last seems to have been deliberately defaced, and

35. *Ibid.* p. 37. Cf. Evelyn Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi,* p. 149: "To this loving sense of the nearness of the supersensual—which is the secret of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation—Jacopone seems to have come:

O little Boy most sweet
In my heart I have conceived Thee,
And in mine arms received Thee,
Because my cry is Love!"

36. Menendez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxas Españoles,* III, p. 235.

37. *Ibid.,* pp. 237, 241.

38. *Ibid.,* p. 184.

apparently no one has studied the armorial bearings on the others, though they might yield clues.

As the *ermita* of Nuestra Señora de Tobed (county seat, Calatayud, nearest town, Morata de Jalon), which is Gothic-Mudéjar in style, contains an image long revered and visited by kings, the presumption is that the Bastard of Trastamara combined for good measure two potent cults, and offered to the image a painting of current devotion. From Albarracin comes a panel, mutilated at the bottom, in which the Child is very like that of Tobed; less so the rest. The tiny ancient city had been Roman before the Goths came, and under them it was called St. Mary of the East. After the conquest of the Moors and of the Cid, and other chances and changes, it was incorporated with the Crown of Aragon in 1363. Given the special and age-long devotion to the East Christian Virgin, it is not unlikely that the important political event should have been celebrated, as soon after as convenient, by a special devotional painting, and by the selection of this type. The style is already tinged with Valencian. So is that of the Virgin from Villahermosa del Rio, on the eastern edge of the province of Castellón; it is the central panel of a large retable and shows no armories and no devotees. Now, with other early pictures once in the *iglesia mayor,* it is found in the *ermita* of St. Bartholomew, five miles off; but we know that an altar had been erected before 1372, to the Virgen de la Leche, in S. Mateo of Villahermosa. Jaime II had made his illegitimate son, Don Alfonso de Aragon, Duke of Villahermosa before 1327; the shield of the city quarters with the bars of Aragon and the lions and castles of Castile, the eagles of Sicily in the fourth place. The Virgin's mantle is semée with heraldic eagles and a crowned M. A mysterious figure like a hermit, seated in the lower right-hand corner, raises one hand in blessing, while the other rests on a book laid open across his knees and holds an object identifiable, by comparison with Russian icons, as Elijah's cloak; at his feet something like a mattock, and a drinking vessel tied to it by a napkin. This builds up an indisputable likeness to Elias, who preserves an Apocalyptic significance throughout Moslem lore, and who is the first and greatest founder of the eremitic life.

The Castle of Penella stands about five miles from Concentaina (in the province of Alicante); when in 1297 Pedro III gave the town to his great Sicilian Admiral Roger de Lauria, he included Muro, Penella, and various other places in the plain under the mountains, even to Alcoy. At some time before 1446 the line became extinct, and the countship reverted to the crown. There or thereabouts is the very ancient tradition of a fertility cult, a rain-making Virgin whom the Moriscoes called *la dona de la pluja,* the Lady of the Rain, and whom we are compelled to interpret much as St. Ephrem Syrus did: "The clouds and winds rejoiced with us, and sprinkled the dew over the flowers.... Let the fields give praise that suckle their fruits from His fountains."[39] Sicilian associations with the ruling house suggest themselves inevitably but the Virgin (Fig. 10) though later and weaker remains in the same line of descent with those of Albarracin and Villahermosa, and that in the sacristy of El Salvador at Valencia.

39. Gwynne, *op. cit.,* p. 248. The earlier phrase involves the noble and lovely Andalusian cult image of the Virgin of the Dew in her hilltop sanctuary.

It is not surprising that there should be only one surviving example known on or near the Valencian littoral, and no variants to testify of a strong and fruitful tradition in that domain where in the fifteenth century St. Vincent Ferrer was calling himself a new angel of the Apocalypse, or on that coast with its Mudéjar place names where Boniface XIII lived like another Napoleon on his islet of Peñiscola. During the whole of this century a link between Valencia, Aragon, and Avignon is found in the figure of Don Juan Fernandez de Heredia, the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and another in the figure of St. Vincent's brother, Bonifazio Ferrer, who died as General of the Carthusian Order;[40] but neither of these great gentlemen and politicians would care for associations with *Fraticelli*. The Valencian Virgins of Humility must be sought out in remote *ermitas* and very lonely sactuaries. Yet if there must be an *invention* of a prototype for the Spanish series somewhere outside of Spain, Avignon and Sicily lie about equidistant, and in equally close relation to Spain. But must it so be sought?

As between Spain and Italy, in the present state of our knowledge little is to be gained from comparison of examples. A test case, however, might be tried. The most archaic figures are found in the Marches, and the known dates run: Ghissi, 1359; Nuzi, 1366; Andrea da Bologna, 1372; and Ghissi, 1374 and 1395. There is no particular development of style, but Nuzi certainly got his Virgin at Sanseverino from that of Ghissi at Fabriano, for the countenance is identical. Furthermore, Ghissi, in 1359, employs a characteristic Aragonese device of placing his figure on a terrace, against a marble parapet. The motive is common in Valencia and Sardinia. As the Madonna enjoys also a cloth of honor, thereafter discarded, it would appear that the painter was feeling his way; then suddenly he sees and fixes the type.

The eight Spanish examples arrange themselves as follows:

I. Two early and self-sustained, the Virgin of Palau and that of Torroella (Fig. 8). Note their agreement in that the apocalyptic significance is enforced, and in the technical detail that the fold of drapery under the Child's arm, turned over to show the lining, is clearly understood and depicted.

II. The Virgins of Villahermosa (before 1372), Albarracin, Penella (Fig. 10), and El Salvador. In all four cases the musical instruments are identical, organ and viol on the left, and opposite something of the guitar kind played with a plectrum. But the heraldic eagles of the brocade ally the first of the series to that of Torroella, while in that of Albarracin the brocade is spotted with flowers in a way more characteristic of the Serra family, and the pattern in Valencia is entirely different and more like stuffs figured at Jativa. The angels' peacock wings, eyed like those of seraphim, correspond in the first and second. The baby is identical throughout this second group and the third.

III. The Virgin of Tobed (c. 1373 Fig. 9) with, as a copy, that from Lérida; except that the Child's mantle, folded over, is quite misunderstood. The brocade is of the same magnificence as that from Villahermosa, but of the same type of design as in Pere Serra's Virgin from Tortosa, with which we have nothing to do. The matter of these textiles, including a queen's robe bought in 1373 "semée with

40. J. Dominguez Bordona, *Spanish Illumination*, II, pp. 51-53.

eagles,"[41] might also assist investigation. Finally, the cushion at Tobed has the same edging of cord and pompon as the first of all, the Virgin of Palau.

The analysis of style would throw all dates into the last forty years of the fourteenth century, just where they tend to cluster in the Italian group. Before that we have the Genoese master, painting at Palermo in 1346—he died in 1348; and the Sienese master painting at Avignon before 1348—he died in that year also; both, perhaps, dying of the Black Death. Ghissi's *floruit* reads 1359-1395, Jaime Serra's 1361-1396; these two also are contemporaries. But the earliest extant Spanish Virgin of Humility appears only thirty-five miles from the cathedral of Urgel, which possessed a suggestive Apocalypse miniature; and with this Virgin must be associated in successive stages the whole Catalan-Valencian series, as already done by Professor Post.[42] The Virgin of Torroella, too, appears at the meeting-place of the three essentials postulated: the Arab traditions radiating from the Mudéjar region (though here in Catalonia less potent), the foyer of Joachinism here to be found in the very town, and the presence within a few miles, at the cathedral city, of a magnificent illuminated manuscript of the Apocalypse.[43]

From the above it seems clear enough that the devotion took form before the cult image, and at a given moment crystallized in two types, Donato's, or the Virgin of Palau, and Bartolomeo's, or the Virgin of Tobed; in addition there is Ghissi's, which looks like a misunderstanding of the Oriental posture in an Apocalypse. This third type serves to connect the Marches with eastern Spain, and so should a striking likeness in textile pattern, both eagles and leaves in scrolls, to the taste of the Serras, though Ghissi and Nuzi soon wander off into variants of the concepts, bird and leaf.

Further, there are four strong presumptions: (1) that the earliest pictures have not survived, for every known example looks more or less like a copy or adaptation; (2) that the Virgins of Palau and Torroellas are merely the sole survivors, in their respective dioceses, of an indefinite, though not particularly large, number brought forth by the conditions that produced them; (3) that the circumstances postulated and proved made precipitation take place in complete independence in Spain, whence the theme may well have passed to Avignon and Sicily, both those spots being notoriously derivative in their art; (4) that, though the Madonna of Humility may have appeared sporadically elsewhere, for instance in other parts of Italy, yet Ghissi had seen either a lost Spanish prototype or a lost Spanish Apocalypse, for his Madonnas (and those of Nuzi, who for this image follows him) show dependence on, and development from, a single clear image and concept which had no known Italian antecedents. After all, there were Franciscan sanctuaries and local shrines in the Marches to draw from Spain and farther away pilgrims and their gifts: at

41. Sanpere y Miquel, *Els Trecentistas Catalans*, I, p. 325: "les vestidures de seda ab senyals daguiles de la dita senyora Reyna."

42. C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, II, pp. 230-234, 269-275, III, p. 125.

43. Though as I have argued elsewhere, *Divagations on the Beatus*, in *Art Studies*, VII (1930), the Gerona Beatus was painted in Mozarabic Leon and not in either Andalusia or Catalonia, there is strong probability that it was added to the other treasures of the cathedral of Gerona in that fourteenth century of splendid expansion which produced the cathedral itself, the high altar, the statue of Charlemagne and his cult, and secured the Bible of Don Dalmacio de Mur.

Fermo, at Macerata, at Camerino and Tolentino, where the Roman church still, albeit reluctantly, every year reveres as blessed such names as Angelo of Clareno, Liberato and Tommaso, with Conrad of Offida, and many another.

Slowly, through all this investigation, something has been manifesting itself: that the devotion never flourished, even in Italy, at the centers of art and orthodoxy; and that the Spanish examples, so alike, so scattered, so lonely, have perhaps survived just because they were isolated in remote *ermitas* and then forgotten. It is certain that the beautiful image of the Madonna of Humility belongs to the fourteenth century and is linked with the Spirituals both in ascendancy and decline.

# THE PORCH OF ANDLAU ABBEY

By JULIUS BAUM

A study of the porch of Andlau Abbey involves problems of stylistic criticism hitherto little touched upon by historians of art. The following discussion attempts to throw some light on these problems through an analysis of the sculpture of the porch and the detection of relationships between it and other works of the period.

The rectangular opening of the doorway (Fig. 1) is flanked on each side by two posts, or pillars, of nearly equal width, the two inner posts carrying a straight lintel, and the outer ones, which jut forward, carrying a cornice, above which rises the tympanum. All parts of this frame are abundantly covered with sculpture, all in low relief except that of the tympanum. On the inner posts are arabesques; on the lintel are scenes from Genesis. Each outer post is decorated with five arches, in vertical sequence, supported by an atlas with lifted arms; the arches, which shelter pairs of figures, are in some cases inscribed, and in one case an inscription appears also on the base molding of the shallow niche. The cornice, that crowns both the lintel and the outer posts, is decorated with a double row of palmettes. The dominant feature of the whole doorway is the tympanum. Here are three figures in high relief: Christ enthroned, giving the key to St. Peter and the book to St. Paul. A different kind of sandstone has been used for this part of the decoration from that used in the rest of the porch; and though the figures jut forward from the cornice, they do not fill out the sides of the tympanum, so that strange supplementary details have been added—scenes representing bird hunts—probably by the sculptor who carved the arabesques on the inner posts of the door frame. Undoubtedly the doorway was finished before the construction of the entrance hall, or porch, that precedes it, for the vault above it, though barely avoiding the heads of the tympanum figures, cuts through their haloes and though the upper parts of the hunting scenes and the ends of the cornice (Fig. 2).

*
* *

The Abbey of Andlau was founded in 879 or 880 by Richarda, wife of Charles the Stout and daughter of Erchanger, count of the Nordgau. When the foundress died, in 893 or 894, she found here her last resting place. Early connections of the convent with Lombardy are to be noted.[1] Liutwart, client of the foundress, became bishop of Vercelli. Irmengart, daughter of the Lotharingian king Lewis II (855-875), lived in the convent before following her mother, Engelberta, into the convent of S. Sisto at Piacenza. During the government of Abbess Mathilda, sister of Emperor Konrad II and cousin of Count Bruno of Egisheim, who in 1048 was made pope

1. Jullian, *Le portail d'Andlau et l'expansion de la sculpture lombarde en Alsace*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome*, XLVII (1930), p. 28.

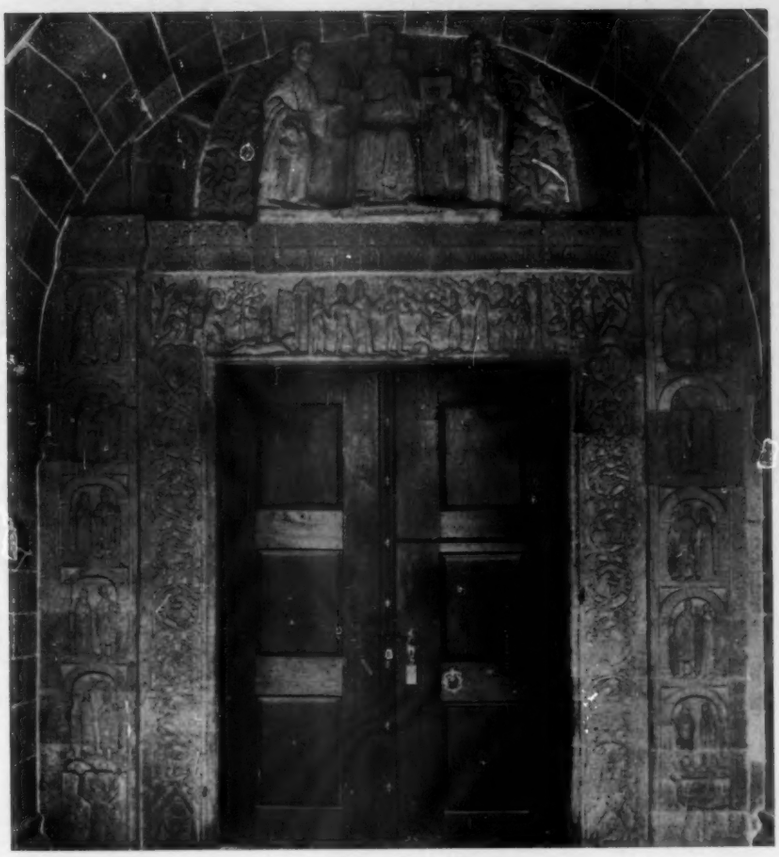


FIG. 1—*Andlau, Abbey: Doorway of the Twelfth Century*



FIG. 2—*Andlau, Abbey: Tympanum of Doorway*



FIG. 3—*Atlas on outer Jamb*



FIG. 4—*Arched Niche in outer Jamb*

*Andlau, Abbey: Details of Doorway*

under the name of Leo IX by Henry III, the church was rebuilt; and in October, 1049, at the return of the pope from the council of Mayence, the church was newly consecrated. From the first the convent seems to have belonged to the Benedictine rule. After 1121 the inhabitants called themselves Augustine canons.[2] During the government of Hadziga (elected in 1159), a highly cultivated woman, not unlike her younger neighbor Herrat of Landsperg (1167-1191), on the night of Easter Monday of the year 1160 or 1161, a fire broke out in the church and convent.[3] The story of the fire is given in Hadziga's report:[4] "In proxima nocte post diem dominice resurrectionis monasterium et claustrum cum officinis sibi adiacentibus ac tota fere villa combusta sunt." The report says, further, that Hadziga had rebuilt, "conventione facta cum architectis, totum monasterium ad unum latus inferius et particulam...." (here the report breaks off). In the second half of the seventeenth century the church was altered.[5] The partial destruction of the church in 1652, which necessitated its alteration,[6] left the lower part of the western construction (and it is only the western, Romanesque, part of the church that enters into our investigation here) essentially unharmed. But the confusion in the sequence of the scenes in the outer frieze may only be explained by the assumption that in the reconstruction, when damaged stones were removed, parts of the frieze were taken down and then put together again in the wrong order, the meaning of the scenes being no longer known.

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We shall begin our examination of the reliefs of the doorway with the apparently oldest part, the Delivery of the Key and Book (Fig. 2). Christ sits on the throne in frontal position, while Peter and Paul approach Him from the sides. With His right hand the Lord gives the key to Peter and with His left the closed book to Paul. This iconographical type is rare. More often the Delivery is represented as already accomplished—Peter holding the key and Paul the book. The Upper-Rhine region offers six examples of this theme in Romanesque tympana of later date than the doorway of Andlau: at Basel (the Gallusptorte);[7] St. Ursanne;[8] Schwarzach, between 1209 and 1229;[9] Sigolsheim;[10] St. Morand; and Egisheim. At Basel, St. Ursanne, Schwarzach, Egisheim, and St. Morand the apostles carry their attributes themselves. Our Saviour has in His left hand the open *liber vitae,* while His right hand (but not at Basel and St. Ursanne, where He has the cross staff) is lifted in a gesture of benediction. Only the example at Sigolsheim, which, like all the others with the exception of Schwarzach, is stylistically dependent upon Basel, shows the delivery

2. Grandidier, *Alsatia sacra*, I, 1899, p. 132.

3. Grandidier, *Œuvres historiques inédites*, I, 1865, p. 254. Sammarthanus, *Gallia christiana*, V, 1731, collumn 880, mentions as the 10th abbess in the year 1160 Hadewidis. Hadziga is not mentioned before 1167, at her investiture by the emperor Frederic I.

4. Würdtwein, *Nova subsidia diplomatica*, IX, 1787, p. 371.

5. Kautzsch, *Romanische Kirchen im Elsass*, 1927, pp. 23 f.

6. Cf. Banchereau, *Andlau, Congrès archéologique de France*, 83rd session, 1922, p. 294.

7. Cf. Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland*, 1924, pp. 256 f.

8. Weise, *Studien über Denkmäler romanischer Plastik am Oberrhein*, in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1920, fig. 5.

9. Sauer, *Die Abteikirche von Schwarzach*, Freiburger Diözesanarchiv, 1904.

10. Weise, *Das Tympanon der Peter-und Paulskirche zu Sigolsheim*, in *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, 1911, p. 105.

of the key and of the book in a composition similar to that of the tympanum of Andlau. But Christ at Sigolsheim, as well as at Basel and at St. Morand, sits on a *faldistorium*. Our summary shows that the Andlau tympanum had little iconographic influence on later works of the Upper Rhine. Our closest iconographic prototype is offered by the scene in the west gable of the tabernacle of S. Ambrogio at Milan (c. 980)[11] and its imitation in the west gable of the tabernacle in S. Pietro sopra Civate.[12] Here the arrangement is similar to that at Andlau; but the apostles approach with bent knees, Paul is kneeling at Christ's right hand, and his book is open in the example at Milan.

The Christ of the Andlau tympanum follows the Syriac type.[13] It came through Mozarabic art to the south of France, and on to Burgundy and Germany. Symmetrical arrangement of legs and drapery are indications of this tradition, which is displaced in the late twelfth century by the Hellenistic style, with its greater emphasis upon the body beneath the garments. The Syriac type of the enthroned Christ is rare in the Upper-Rhine region. One example, of the thirteenth century, is the tympanum of St. Leodegar at Gebweiler.[14] The tympanum of Schwarzach seems to have been directly influenced by a Byzantine model. The other examples show the symmetrical arrangement of the legs only. The tympanum of Andlau, with the *contrapposto* of its transverse draperies, deviates from the model, which shows the flap of the upper garment, with a regularly graduated hem on both sides, falling down into the lap, as at Charlieu (1094), at Avenas (between 1166 and 1172), and at Nonantola (c. 1140). S. Pietro sopra Civate (c. 1100) offers a parallel to Andlau for the manner in which the upper ends of the garment are thrown over the shoulders.

Each of the three figures of our tympanum is cut in very high relief from a large stone block. This work is older than that of the rest of the porch. It is comparable to the sculpure in the wall of the south transept, where our Saviour, enthroned, holds in both hands a banderole with the inscription: "IRMENGART. DA. REQUIEM. VITE. NOBIS. SITIENTIBUS. IN. TE." The faces of Christ and Irmengart—the latter kneels at Christ's right side—are demolished. The position of the banderole, the arrangement of the legs, and the fall of the folds are symmetrical.[15] The majuscules of the inscription show the epigraphical character of the twelfth century.

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As already noted, the outer posts of the doorway are decorated with shallow arched niches supported in series by atlantes (Fig. 3). In each niche (Fig. 4) stands a man and a woman. The man has his head uncovered, but he wears a tunic and usually also a cloak. The woman, who faces him and raises her hand, seeming to call her companion's attention to the consequences of the sin of the first man represented on the lintel above, has her head covered and is dressed in longer tunic and cloak, with a roll at the neck suggesting an attached hood. We cannot consider the carver's

11. Haseloff, *Die vorromanische Plastik in Italien*, 1930, p. 70.
12. Porter, Review of Beenken, *op. cit.*, in *Speculum*, I (1926), pp. 233 f., fig. 4.
13. Berger, *Die Darstellung des thronenden Christus*, 1926, p. 151.
14. Kraus, *Kunst und Altertum in Elsass-Lothringen*, II (1884), p. 103, pl. 26.
15. Banchereau, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

work unfinished, though he was at a loss for the names of the pairs. Only three of them—the two upper ones on the left and the third from the top on the right—bear inscriptions. The top one at the left has two: on the arch "HILDEBOT. SVFIA," and below "BEREWART. HEMOA." In the next arch we read: "ALTERIK. GEDER(A)," and the only inscription in the series at the right is "HVC. ELISABET" (Fig. 4). Steinberg[16] identifies the women as the first ten abbesses of the convent. But the costume in not clerical.[17] The unusual roll of the cloak collar is used for profane persons, e. g. in the portrait of Duchess Mechthild, wife of Henry the Lion, in the Heriman Gospels at Gmunden.[18] And the names in the inscriptions do not correspond to the names of the nuns that have come down to us. Only "HVC. ELISABET" might easily refer to Count Hug of Metz and Dagsburg, mentioned in a document of 1154 as a protector of the convent, and to his wife, Elisabeth.[19] But none of the inscriptions can refer to any of the other protectors whose names have been preserved by history; they are as follows: in the time of the foundation, Adalbero, bishop of Augsburg after 881; in the eleventh century Count Henry (mentioned as a protector in 1064) and Count Hugo V (died 1089) of Egisheim; in 1114 Count Volmar IV of Metz, nephew of Hugo V and brother of the above-mentioned Hug of Metz.[20]

These pairs of figures at Andlau are not unique in Alsace. In the Museum of Colmar is the fragment of a door post (Fig. 5) carved with a woman in long gown and a man in profane dress standing under an arch, the man presenting a tree or branch of flowers to the woman. On the arch is inscribed: "...RVM DIEBVS LVNE...," and below we read: "PREMIA IVSTICIE. CAPIENTES. VERA." Artistically as well as epigraphically this monument, which comes from Isenheim, is closely related to the reliefs at Andlau.

One immediately thinks of looking for the prototype of these arched compositions in Roman monuments. The door jambs of the later porch of St. Gall at Basel go back to such a model, the Porta Nigra at Besançon. Roman tombs decorated with pairs of standing figures in niches are common in Upper Germany: the museums of Metz and Epinal contain examples from Solicia (Soulosse).[21] But the similarity of the Andlau examples to Lombard works of the same period is more striking. The closest analogy is offered by the jambs of the west porch of S. Silvestro at Nonantola. An inscription on the lintel gives 1121 as the year of the commencement of this work, and the porch was finished at least as early as 1140.[22] Here, on the front faces of the posts, pairs of figures stand under double arches, and atlantes support the vertical series. On one side are scenes from the lives of Sts. Adrian and Silvester (Fig. 6) and on the other, scenes from Christ's childhood. It is the peculiar composition rather than the individual form types that is followed at Andlau. Thus, at Andlau both atlantes are standing (Fig. 3), and at Nonantola only one stands. Those at Andlau, with their easily lifted arms more closely resemble the bearer of the disk of

16. Steinberg, *Die Bildnisse geistlicher und weltlicher Fürsten und Herren*, I, 1931, p. 85.
17. I owe this remark to Geheimrat Goldschmidt.
18. Steinberg, *op. cit.*, pl. 125.
19. Grandidier, *Œuvres*, pp. 255 f.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 238 f.
21. Boinet, Metz, *Congrès archéologique*, 83e session, 1922, fig. 96.
22. Krautheimer-Hess, *Die figurale Plastik der Ostlombardei*, in *Marburger Jahrbuch*, IV (1928), pp. 250 f.

the Holy Lamb on the lintel of the Porta dei Principi of the cathedral of Modena.[23] Another analogy may be found at Modena, in the Porta della Pescheria, where the posts are decorated with arches in vertical order filled with single figures. This decoration is used later, also, in Lombardy, as on the baptistery of Parma. In the north we find the influence in the west porch of the parish church of Tulln,[24] where the arches are filled with the half figures of the apostles. The Lombard sculptors borrow arches also from Roman art, but prefer to apply them, on the lintels of the cathedrals of Ferrara and Piacenza, in horizontal order.

The arabesques on the inner posts, too, of Andlau are held by Atlantes (Fig. 7). And again we find the model on the Porta della Pescheria at Modena.[25] The foliage of the rising arabesques is thinner and more sparce in Alsace. The vines form eight circles on each post, the circle fillings alternating between a lion and a bird. Similar circles appear on the outer frame of the tympanum of the main porch of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia, completed, probably, before the consecration of 1132, and another instance is offered by the south post of the main porch of S. Zeno at Verona (1139).[26] The master who carved the arabesques of the door posts at Andlau must also have produced there the supplementary scenes in the tympanum: at the left a man shooting with crossbow at a bird in a tree which another man is climbing (Fig. 8), and at the right a man with slingshot aiming at a large bird in a vine. Both compositions are symbolical of the devil's attempts to gain possession of the soul, which remains unharmed because it is under the portection of Christ, Who is enthroned in the middle of the tympanum.

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On the lintel of the porch are five scenes from the story of Adam and Eve: the Creation of Eve (Fig. 10); God leads Adam and Eve to Paradise and warns them of the Tree of Knowledge; the Fall of Man; the Espulsion from Paradise; complaints of Adam and Eve after the Expulsion. The artist had undoubtedly seen the reliefs by Wiligelmus on the front of the cathedral at Modena; but they had no direct influence on his work, for the choice of action is different—even in the representation of the same event the iconography is different. The sculptures at Modena must be explained by occidental tradition, those at Andlau by Early Christian tradition, through Byzantium as intermediary.[27] The contrast is evident, for example, in the scene of the Creation of Eve: Christ stands in the Modena relief (Fig. 9) and takes Eve's hand; He is seated in the Andlau example, and only raises His hand to call her forth, while Eve holds her hands in the attitude of prayer (Fig. 10). The latter composition corresponds to the Early Christian type, as it appears, for example, in a copy of the Creation of Eve once represented in S. Paolo fuori le mura.[28] There God is sitting on a globe. The same composition is used in a series of manuscripts

23. Bertoni, *Atlante storico del Duomo di Modena*, 1921, pl. 25: Jullian, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

24. Donin, *Romanische Portale in Niederösterreich*, in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts Wien*, 1915, pl. 1.

25. Bertoni, *op. cit.*, pl. 45.

26. Fastenau, *Romanische Bauornamentik in Süddeutschland*, 1916, p. 47.

27. Cf. Schmitt, Reallexikon der deutschen Kunstgeschichte, I, 1934, column 135 f.

28. Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen*, 1918, fig. 3. The drawing is in the Vatican, Cod. Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 25.



FIG. 5—*Colmar, Museum: Detail of Door Jamb from Isenheim*



FIG. 6—*Nonantola, S. Silvestro: Detail of Door Jamb*



FIG. 7—*Andlau, Abbey: Detail of Inner Jamb of Door*



FIG. 8—*Andlau, Abbey: Detail of Tympanum*



FIG. 9—*Modena, Cathedral: Detail of Frieze by Wiligelmus*



FIG. 10—*Andlau, Abbey: Detail of Lintel*

at Florence and Rome.[29] The eleventh century Bible of S. Cecilia, Cod. Vat. Barb. lat. 587, which Venturi wrongly thought to be the model of the representations in S. Paolo,[30] only gives one of the later repetitions of the Byzantine type as we still find it in the churches of Sicily and in the dome of the baptistery of Florence. In the North Andlau gives the earliest representation of this iconographic type. The second scene, God's warning to Adam and Eve, is seldom represented. An earlier example of it appears in the Bible of Moutier-Grandval in the British Museum, Add 10546;[31] later, in the Hortus deliciarum. The scene of the introduction of Adam and Eve in Paradise is especially rare. In the representation of the Fall at Modena Adam and Eve stand on the same side of the tree, but at Andlau there is the usual symmetrical arrangement, and Eve offers a second apple to Adam as in the Tours Bible at Bamberg (Ms. bibl. 1) and on the bronze door of Hildesheim, dependent thereon.[32] The expulsion from the door of Paradise is executed by an angel rather than by God. This scene, like the last of the series, the complaint after the expulsion (Fig. 11), is influenced by Byzantine models.[33] Probably the sculptor's inspiration for the whole series of the lintel reliefs came from Byzantine manuscript illumination. There is less iconographic dependence upon Eastern art in the miniatures of the Hortus deliciarum.

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The high projection of the mighty figures of the tympanum, in contrast to the flat relief of the rest of the decoration of the doorway, suggests that this main group was intended for a different ensemble. But though it must have been already finished when appropriated for the present porch, it does not show any considerable difference of style from the rest of the work. Characteristic of both the high and low reliefs are the massy heads with the goggle eyes. It is the style of about 1100, a simplification of the style of Wiligelmus (Fig. 9). The garments, too, are treated in the old tradition, divided into parallel folds, marked by double creases, over the whole surface. The draperies of the main figures are livelier, with undulated hems. The others are calmer, with smooth hems, in the manner of the early twelfth century. This style is preserved in the later work also, i. e. in the frieze that decorates the west and north walls of the entrance, which must be the last work of the shop. When a cast was made recently, Forrer[34] made an examination of these reliefs. Their subjects, the sequence of which has been disturbed, refer to the sinners whom God does not allow to enter his church. The style of the frieze, as exemplified in the butcher killing an ox and a hunter with his dog (Fig. 12), is so closely related to that of the rest of the porch that it must be assigned to the same workshop. The subject content corresponds to the voluminous representation of the contemporary Hortus deliciarum (fol. 238 r); here the unworthy are driven out of the temple. But as the

29. Schmitt, *op. cit.*

30. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, V, 1907, p. 331; Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen*, 1930, p. 68.

31. Baum, *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters in Deutschland, Frankreich und Britannien*, 1933, fig. 92.

32. Goldschmidt, *Die deutschen Erztüren*, 1926, p. 20, fig. 4, pl. 19.

33. Schmitt, *op. cit.*, col. 139; Tikkanen, *Die Genesismosaiken von San Marco*, 1889, p. 41.

34. Forrer, *Les frises historiées de l'église romane d'Andlau*, in *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Alsace*, 1931/32, pp. 55 f.

Hortus deliciarum is the classical monument of the new infiltration of the Hellenistic spirit into the form of the late twelfth century, the Genesis frieze of Andlau shows only a readiness for accepting Byzantine iconographic models, though the treatment of form in the decade, 1150-1160, in which was created the Genesis frieze and, at the end, the frieze of the west and north walls, shows Lombard influence, an influence which affects the more inclusive workshop of Middle Alsace.

Apart from the Andlau sculptures, the chief work of this shop is the sarcophagus of Bishop Adelochus in the church of St. Thomas at Strassburg. The sarcophagus rests on four crouching lions and is decorated with flat arcades. The arches, separated by small pillars, are filled partly with acanthus foliage, partly with figures. The investiture of a kneeling bishop by Christ in the presence of an angel offering the stole (Fig. 13) is the most instructive part of the decoration. The counterpart is the investiture with the secular jurisdiction by Louis the Pious, on the head of the sarcophagus. Porter[35] has shown that it resembles the investiture of Archbishop Hincmar (died 882) by Charles the Bald on the Hincmar sarcophagus at Rheims, where, as in the Strassburg example, the recipient kneels. The inscription on the cover of the Adelochus sarcophagus—"ADELOCHVS PRAESVL AD DEI LAVDES AMPLIFICANDAS HANC EDEM COLLAPSAM INSTAVRAVIT DCCCXXX" is, at best, an imitation. Perhaps the sarcophagus is a free copy of an original destroyed when the church burned, in 1144. The style is not Carolingian. The acanthus foliage in the arcades derives from earlier Byzantine art; it may be compared with the foliage on the lintel of the Prothesis in the Katholikon of Hosios Lukas.[36] Jullian refers to the Eastern character of the plain, sharp foliage.[37] Besides, there are features which, if not actually derived from Lombard art, at least may be paralleled there. The siren on the fish (at the left of the investiture scene), a motive used in the outside frieze of Andlau,[38] is found already in Roman art and is carried into the Middle Ages by the Physiologus as a symbol of the devil's craft. The counterpart of the siren is a man taming two serpents. For comparison Jullian cites a capital in the Museum of Pavia[39]—probably from S. Giovanni in Borgo—on which Terra is holding two dragons. The draperies are analogous to those of Andlau, and the irises are bored like those of the apostles of the cathedral at Basel. If the Adelochus sarcophagus was made soon after 1144, it was probably the first work of the shop which may be localized at Strassburg. The same shop produced the relief of the saint (Fig. 14) in the wall of the Delcominette house at Niederhaslach; the figure sculpture from the cloister of Eschau[40] in the Archaeological Museum at Strassburg; the post in the convent of St. Odilienberg with the figures of Duke Eticho, St. Odile, and the abbesses Herrat and Relint; the Abraham capital from the hospital at Rufach in the Museum of Colmar; three reliefs in the same collection from St. Marx at Colmar, representing Christ in the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, and His Entry into Jerusalem; and, finally, the figures in the east gable of the Benedictine church at Murbach.[41]

35. Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, I, 1928, p. 23, pl. 13.
36. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, II, 1914, fig. 437.
37. Jullian, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
38. Forrer, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
39. Jullian, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
40. Forrer, *Les sculptures romanes de l'ancien cloître d'Eschau*, in *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Alsace*, 1929, p. 190.
41. Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, pl. 69.



FIG. 11—*Andlau, Abbey: Detail of Lintel*



FIG. 12—*Andlau, Abbey: Detail of Frieze on Porch Wall*



FIG. 13—*Strassburg, Archaeological Museum: Detail of Sarcophagus of Adelochus*



FIG. 14—*Niederhaslach, Delcominette House: Figure of a Bishop Saint*



FIG. 15—*Nancy, Franciscan Chapel: Monument of Gerhart I and his Wife*

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The style of the Alsatian shop originates in the earlier Romanesque style.[42] It is found also in the art of illumination that immediately precedes the work at Andlau. We may mention in this connection the Guta-Sintram Codex from the Augustine convent of Marbach in the Great School of Divinity at Strassburg (Cod. 78). This was finished in 1154 and gives the impression of earlier work.[43] Especially in the second part of the manuscript we find parallels to the heads, bodies, and draperies of the Andlau figures. In the calendar of the first part, too, the manner is evident, for example in the Twins of June. About 1140-1150 the style of 1100 is resuscitated, but its uninterrupted Alsatian tradition cannot be proved. There are sculptures of the first half of the twelfth century—the capitals from Alspach in the Museum of Colmar and the capitals of the porch of Lautenbach[44]—which do not show the features of the Strassburg-Andlau shop. The latter, derivative, style seems to have developed (in opposition to the Gislebertus style[45]) about 1140-1150 in a workshop of Strassburg and in neighboring schools of illumination. After accomplishing its task it gave way to the classicism of Herrat and of the atelier of the porch of St. Gall at Basel. The Lombard origin of the style is indubitable—in Lombardy the style of Wiligelmus continued without interruption until the time of Antèlami.[46] Lombard influences are seen in the foliage, the atlantes, the arcades, and in the plain draperies, marked by double strokes. Of course, the opinion of Banchereau that a shop from Modena had been removed to Alsace is not right. But Alsatian sculptors must have passed many years of their apprenticeship in Lombard shops. The strong impulses there received would have been intensified by related ideas in neighboring France. The verticality of figures and draperies, culminating in the work of Gislebertus, is not exclusive there. Even in Burgundy *retardataire* work is to be found. We may cite the altar at Avenas.[47] And nearer to the Vosges, in Lotharingia, are examples of the archaic style of drapery. The monument of Gerhart I of Vaudémont (died 1108) and Hedwig of Dagsburg, his wife (taken from Gérardmer to the Franciscan chapel at Nancy (Fig. 15), may be a rare precursor of the Andlau style in its native country.

42. Baum, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 f.; Baum, *Die romanische Steinbildnerei am Dome zu Chur*, in *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, 1934, pp. 105 f.

43. Walter, *Les miniatures du Codex Guta-Sintram*, in *Archives alsaciennes d'histoire et de l'art*, VI (1925), figs. 12, 26, 31.

44. Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, pl. 50.

45. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 1923, p. 110.

46. Krautheimer-Hess, *op. cit.*, pp. 284 f.

47. Cf. the author's discussion with Deschamps, in *Wiener Jahrbuch*, 1932, pp. 98 f.

# NOTES AND REVIEWS

## An Adoration in the Cluny Museum.

Exhibited under an arcade to the left in the entrance courtyard of the Cluny Museum is a mutilated relief of the Adoration of the Kings (Fig. 1). The catalogue[1] describes it as a French altar front of the second half of the sixteenth century from the chapel of the Château d'Anet, and relates that Alexandre Lenoir[2] had used it in his famous Musée des Monuments Français for the restoration of the mausoleum of Villiers de l'Isle Adam, of which Lenoir writes: "I have introduced in the composition of this monument.... a bas-relief representing an Adoration of the Magi sculptured by Pierre Bontemps.... which I bought at Anet from a mason."[3] Lenoir's catalogue contains a drawing[4] which identifies the relief with that of the Cluny, but as no known document indicates its authorship it would seem that the attribution is Lenoir's own. It reached the Cluny Museum only in 1881 from the Chantiers de St. Denis. The *devis et marche* for the construction of the funerary chapel at Anet, although concerned with the architecture alone, suggest that the Adoration dates about 1570: they show that the contract was let on *6 juin, 1566*, in prompt fulfillment of the will of Diane de Poitiers only some six weeks after her death.[5] The chapel was consecrated about 1577.[6]

Even though badly mutilated, the high quality of the relief is evident; while its style is that of a French sculptor under Italian influence. At this time, there were but three men in France capable of producing such a work, Jean Goujon, Germain Pilon, and Pierre Bontemps.

Jean Goujon appears excluded because, due to his Protestantism, he had left France in 1562 and is not known to have returned thereafter.

When the chapel contract was let, Pilon was only about thirty. He had not yet achieved the reputation which made him a decade later the outstanding sculptor of Paris, his first royal commission having come in 1561, although from 1563 to 1570 he had worked on the tomb of Henry II. Only a late date for the relief would favor his authorship.

Bontemps, however, had enjoyed twenty years of royal patronage, and, returning to Paris in 1563,[7] he seems to have been reëmployed by the Valois to do the funerary bust of Guillaume Froelich, now in the Louvre,[8] which work must have won favorable attention. It would have been natural for the executors of Diane de Poitiers, the most glamorous figure of the Valois court, to choose its most conspicuous sculptor. If he died in 1571 there was still sufficient time for this relief.[9]

An examination of the relief leaves no doubt that a French sculptor of late Gothic training has here resorted to various Italian devices such as contrapposto, foreshortening, and schiacciato. In the badly worn background a columned podium at the right signifies the inn of the Nativity; and further on, in lower relief, are the two animals at the manger, foreshortened, their backs to the spectator, and one reaching up for fodder. Further along, in still lower relief, are outlined the conical tents of the visiting kings, and a road leads back into the distance, where faint evidences of trees and hills appear. The background is shut off at the left of the relief by foliage and a prancing horse, diagonally foreshortened toward a background group of two horsemen riding forward. The perspective and flattened relief are unsuccessful. They result in a tilted background, distortion, and a confusion of planes—the results of a sculptor not adept in these Italian Renaissance innovations. In the foreground Joseph stands at the right, behind the seated Virgin with the animated, nude Child, before Whom kneels a full-bearded king, his crown on the ground beside him. Next comes a younger king in thin and clinging drapery, his left hand extending a gift, and his right holding his helmet aloft; he is the keystone of the composition, his raised right hand being exactly on the middle axis; his gestures are meant to be the unifying force in the panel, connecting the two soldiers unpacking gifts from a chest and the standing king in armor with the main group. However, the composition breaks in two, and the eye wanders over it distractedly, in spite of the attempt to take over the calculated gesture and composition of the Italian Renaissance. These eight figures, too, are of Renaissance conception. Joseph, Mary, and the kneeling king wear the toga, the middle king the "wet" drapery of ancient derivation, and the other three figures classic military attire. But these costumes are carved in late Gothic fashion: of the heavy stuffs every fold and crease is rendered precisely with marked undercutting; the thin drapery has sharp diagonals; the military costumes show a mediaeval craftsman's profusion of exact detail—as does the foliage in the corner of the relief. The figures are solidly constructed, but the lesson of contrapposto has been badly learned, as the two soldiers at the left reveal. The heads are full of character: the hair and beard are vividly expressed by precise, minute, and yet heavy undercuttings; the bony structure is carefully studied, especially the foreheads and eye sockets, which remain clear despite mutilation. The hands are strong and well formed, especially those of the kneeling king, the Virgin, and Joseph, but are often attached to shapeless wrists, as in the case of Joseph and the mounted horseman in the background. The legs of the soldiers and the torsos of the pair at the right show a recognition of anatomy rather than a mastery

1. *Catalogue général (Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny)*, I: *La pierre, le marbre et l'albâtre*, Paris, 1922, pp. 8, 87; no. 459. Gray limestone; 0.78×2.05 m. are the dimensions there given, evidently inaccurately.

2. At the destruction of the chapel by the revolutionists in 1793 this relief was "acheté par le citoyen Tessier, maçon à Anet," and a receipt dated "31 août 1797" found at Anet verifies the purchase by Lenoir (Roussel, P. R., *Description du Château d'Anet*, Paris, 1875, p. 108).

3. A. Lenoir, *Musée des Monuments Français*, Paris, 1800-1806, III, p. 52 and note.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

5. A. Roux, *Le tomb de Diane de Poitiers*, in *Gaz. de beaux-arts, 4e pér.*, CVI (1911), p. 296.

6. *Id.*, *Le Château d'Anet*, Paris, c. 1911, p. 83.

7. M. Roy, *Un grand artiste de la renaissance, le sculpteur Pierre Bontemps*, Paris, 1911, p. 309.

8. P. Vitry, *Les accroissements du Département des Sculptures au Musée du Louvre* (1917-1921), in *Gaz. des beaux-arts, 5e pér.*, V (1922), p. 20. Guillaume Froelich (d. 1562) was "colonel général des suisses," hence one of the Valois court.

9. M. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-371, where documents are cited that show he fulfilled his contracts promptly.



FIG. 1—*Paris, Cluny Museum: Adoration of the Kings, Altar Front from the Funerary Chapel of the Château of Anet*



FIG. 2—*Paris, St.-Denis: Detail of Relief from Tomb of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*

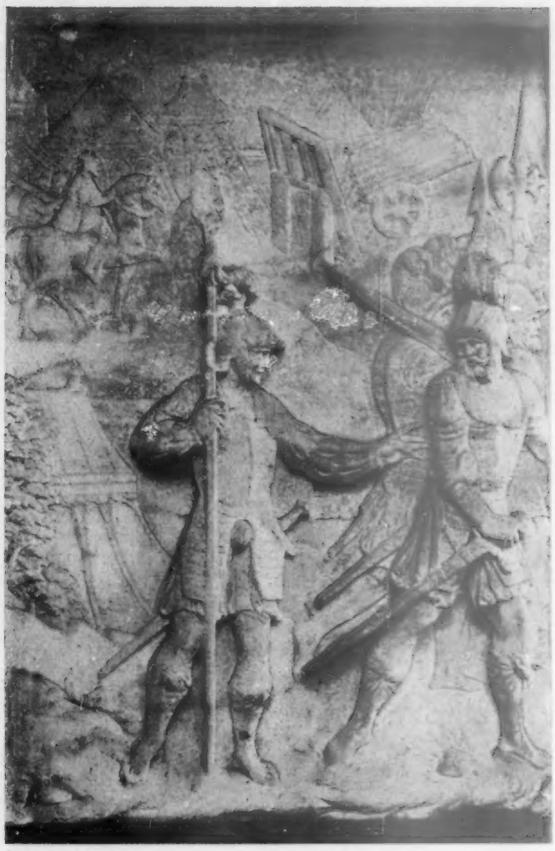


FIG. 3—*Paris, St.-Denis: Detail of Relief from Tomb of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*



FIG. 4—*Paris, St.-Denis: Relief from Urn for Heart of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*



FIG. 5—*Paris, St.-Denis: Relief from Tomb of Henry II, by Germain Pilon*

of it. The same applies to the figure of the Child. In spite of the Renaissance striving for movement and depth, the relief, as a whole, reveals Gothic traits, restraint in gesture and bearing, natural dignity, the softening influence of deep revery, precision of detail, mediaeval treatment of drapery, and strong characterization. Its French sculptor knew the pictorial manner, foreshortening, and contrapposto of Italy, but could not employ them successfully. With this stylistic analysis in mind we may now compare the relief with the works of Pilon and Bontemps.

Five reliefs by Pilon show his style at the period in question, the four for the base of the tomb of Henry II (1563-1570) and the Deposition in the Louvre (1573-1585). The relief in the Louvre, however, is of bronze, the greater fluidity and suavity of which material makes comparison unsatisfactory. The other four (Fig. 5) differ considerably from the Cluny Adoration in style. They are more direct and economical in design, more accomplished in execution. They show the Italian influence as something absorbed, the result of an artistic upbringing in this new manner and of a mastery of its technical problems. Unlike the artist of the Adoration, Pilon uses perspective and flattened relief for pictorial effect successfully. Pilon's accomplished ease in handling the human figure, his subtle modeling and fluidity of line, his breadth in draperies and freedom from extraneous detail, show conclusively that he was not the author of the Adoration.

Comparison of our relief, however, with those of Bontemps reveals many points of analogy in style. The reliefs on the base of the tomb of Francis I[10] (Figs. 2 and 3), representing the campaigns of Marignano and Cerisola, have the same sort of pictorial background as the Adoration, with tilted perspective, confusion of planes through badly used schiacciato, and unsuccessful foreshortening. These features recur in the only other documented series of reliefs by Bontemps, the medallions of the urn for the heart of Francis I (Fig. 4).[11] In all these reliefs at St.-Denis are to be noted the plasticity of the foreground figures,[12] the abortive contrapposto, the precise cutting of foliage, drapery and accessories, the characteristic hair, and the emphasis on the bony structure of the forehead and deep eye sockets.[13] Besides these concrete points of analogy with the Adoration, Bontemps' reliefs approach it in certain abstract qualities: an unimaginative literalism, which stamps him as of the old school of Gothic stonecutters and accounts for his difficulty with the new Italian features he acquired at Fontainebleau;[14] and a calm restraint and natural dignity, likewise reminiscent of late French Gothic.

Admittedly, we have no parallels in Bontemps for certain parts of the Adoration, notably the Child and the middle figure in thin drapery (there is a suggestion of the latter in the middle of one of the urn medallions, Fig. 4), both of which suggest a more facile handling of classical motives than his.[15] But both chronologically and stylistically he has much greater claims to the relief than either of his confreres. And the solid modeling of the figures, particularly of the heads, marks the relief as by a major sculptor, not by some provincial artist working in an Italianized vein. Pending further evidence the Adoration may therefore be tentatively associated with Pierre Bontemps, all the more so as the records show this artist not merely as a tomb sculptor but of varied activity.[16] As his work would naturally include religious subjects it may be that the Cluny Adoration is not the only one extant.

PAUL S. WINGERT

10. Commissioned in 1551 and 1552 (M. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-287).

11. Dating between 1550 and 1555 (M. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-284).

12. The Adoration's front plane seems more projecting, but, allowing for its larger actual scale, the lesser depth of the reliefs at St.-Denis is comparable.

13. De Maigny's statue also illustrates this persistent stylistic peculiarity of Bontemps (M. Roy, *Artistes et monuments de la renaissance en France*, Paris, 1929, facing p. 394.

14. The *comptes des batiments* for the Château de Fontainebleau show that Pierre Bontemps worked there from 1536 to 1549 (L. E. de Laborde, *La renaissance des arts à la cour de France*, Paris, 1850, I, pp. 341 ff.).

15. The urn reliefs, though they lack the putto and the flow of thin drapery over an agitated form, are entirely classic in the Fontainebleau manner.

16. Early work at Fontainebleau, chimney of the four season for the king's chamber there, decorations for Charles IX's proposed entry into Paris (M. Roy, *Un grand artiste de la renaissance, le sculpteur Pierre Bontemps*, pp. 293-294, 307-368, 357-361).

VILLARD DE HONNECOURT—KRITISCHE GESAMTAUSGABE DES BAUHÜTTENBUCHES MS. FR. 19093 DER PARISER NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK. *By Hans R. Hahnloser. 350 pp.; 84 pls. Schroll, Vienna 1935. RM 40.*

Dr. Hahnloser has given us, in a beautifully executed book, the definitive monograph on this architect of the thirteenth century. Half the book is devoted to a careful exposition of the drawings reproduced in 66 collotypes, with 18 additional plates containing the 154 figures illustrating the text, and repeating in smaller scale wherever it is necessary, the drawings of Villard's sketchbook, thus making easy the comparative use of the illustrative figures. The commentary on the drawings is followed by five pages on the previous work that has been done on Villard, a chapter on the technical aspects of the sketchbook, including a differentiation of hands in the inscriptions, a section on Villard's style as a draughtsman, a reconstruction of his biography, a final evaluation of the sketchbook as a whole, and a chapter on the selection and value of the buildings and objects which this head of a Gothic *chantier* thus gathered together to serve as paradigms for himself and his workmen. The volume terminates with a diagrammatic analysis of the gatherings, an exhaustive glossary, and a good index.

It is difficult to select for a reviewer's purposes from the wealth of new material and fresh judgments that Hahnloser has added to the older literature on Villard; even when he employs the results of previous writing, his presentation gives such data a new usefulness. Particularly is this true of the elucidation of the vocabulary of the inscriptions, written in North French with an admixture of Picard dialect, or in the "Küchenlatein" of the second hand; one appreciates especially the elucidation of the precise significance to be given such words as *force, engiens, carpenterie, portraiture*. An example of the special meaning that must be grasped to understand the inscribed explanations of the drawings is Hahnloser's contrast of Villard's *manière*, an artistic form, with Vasari's *maniera*, a personal, local or epochal style.

Our author has made distinct contribution to the history of the book, showing from an inscription on

the first folio brought to light with the ultraviolet rays that it belonged to the Félibien family as early as 1482, and passed in the sixties of the seventeenth century to the historian André Félibien (who cites it as the single mediaeval example in his *Entretiens*), from his father, who was a high official at Chartres. It was in the fifteenth century that the inscription was added to the drawing of the knight (pl. 3), to the effect that the drawing was a portrait of Villard "cil qui fut en Hongrie." André Félibien left the portfolio to his son Don Michel, who died in S. Germain-des-Près in 1719, the sketchbook passing into the library of S. Germain and thence to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Hahnloser is at some pains to eliminate the concept of "album" from the reader's mind with reference to Villard's collection of drawings; it is not the sketchbook of a traveler or even an *aide-mémoire* for an architect, but a pattern book for the use of a *chantier* over which Villard undoubtedly presided. It has the character of all such pattern books—its drawings are "too inexact for architect's drawings, too flat for a sculptor, too linear for a glass painter, too monotonous for an illuminator or illustrator of a manuscript." The wash shading employed is characteristic of its genre, and many of its drawings must be regarded not as copies of existing or imagined works of art, but of designs in a pattern book of similar sort (e. g. *Ecclesia*, pl. 8). The figure labeled "the fallen Christ" (pl. 33) is in reality a sleeping apostle from a Gethsemane scene of Byzantine type; such figures, copied out of groups by the makers of the pattern books, lost thus their original significance and were newly baptized like Villard's "fallen Christ."

The sketches of works of art being thus recipes, so to speak, they differ in no essential way from the mechanical devices and processes which occupy so much of the sketchbook's pages. Such, for example, is the quadration of a head on pl. 38; Buberl discovered similar quadrations, drawn no doubt from a similar pattern book, in the underdrawing of the frescoes of Kloster Nonnberg at Salzburg, and the hypothesis of a like process was successfully applied by Panofsky to the choir windows of Reims. Hahnloser's critique of the devices is excellent, especially for its consideration of the antique sources thereof and the repeated demonstration of the decay of the ideal geometry and mechanics of antiquity into a set of recipes for everyday application which was the immediate source of the lore embodied in Villard's drawings. A good part of the drawings of this sort, and most of the explanatory inscriptions, are due to "Magister 2," the second hand, who is the author of the Latin inscriptions and the French ones which begin "Par chu fait om," a translation of the Greek recipe, beginning οὕτως ποίει or the Latin "sic quaeres," whereby he betrays his dependence on earlier collections. The third hand is one that expands Villard's comments with additional information that shows him acquainted with later monuments; he is the third, according to Hahnloser, as Magister 2 was the second, to head the *chantier* of which Villard was master.

The sketchbook is so little of an illustrated manuscript that the parchment is usually of coarse quality; only for the more careful drawings is a better grade selected. The underdrawing, erased and corrected when the work was finished with the pen, was done with lead or the point of a compass, occasional correction even of the pen drawings shows the care Villard gave to his work. The technique is characteristic of his time, with modeling (as of hair, features, muscles, etc.) reduced to formula. The sheets were kept loose in a portfolio that must have been much like the present one, and in about the same order. Hahnloser's computation of the missing drawings (among which we may regret additional sketches of Cambrai and Reims) shows that the original set numbered at least 68 folios *versus* the existing 33. In the seventeenth century pagination the number was 41.

Villard's drawings were made evidently for the *métier* rather than the laity; his roof designs, for example, explain merely the principle involved, assuming the technical knowledge necessary to carry out the detailed completion. He has a marked peculiarity which finds favor in our author's eyes, of conceiving an outside façade in planimetric fashion, while perspective enters into his interior renderings. Thus, in drawing the choir chapels of Reims he makes full circles of the roses from the outside view, while the relative projection of the bays is recognized in the inside view by a free-hand oval given the lateral roses. Hahnloser finds that unfinished faces in Villard's figure drawings mean that he is copying sculpture. His copying of figures and animals is invariably conditioned by his Gothic formulae, the "geometry" to which unconsciously he makes the figures conform. Thus, a nude copied evidently from the antique (pl. 43) nevertheless is constructed exactly according to the diagram set up (pl. 37) for the frontal standing figure. Such artistic revision is found also in his renderings of quasi-contemporary works, as in the lighter forms he gives the window of Lausanne, and the modifications introduced, of more advanced Gothic style, in his copy of the west rose of Chartres. Of the window of Reims he says "l'amai io miex"—the "persönlichste Kunsturteil," says Hahnloser, "des hohen Mittelalters." From this and other instances he shows himself of the classic and chaster phase of High Gothic. His drawing Hahnloser classifies with no hesitation in Boeckler's "Muldenstil," marked by grooved drapery, which sets in in Flanders and the lower Rhine in the end of the twelfth century, and in the thirteenth is characteristic not so much of Ile-de-France as of its adjacent territory. The closest parallel in contemporary art to Villard's drawing was found by Vitzthum in a missal of Noyon.

Hahnloser dismisses the theory that Villard, who copies the tower of Laon (pls. 18-19) had aught to do with the several imitations of that cathedral, and also scouts Quicherat's attribution of the plan of Cambrai to our draughtsman. His drawing of Cambrai, in fact, is considered by our author to have been done from the plan of the cathedral which he must have had before him. His copies of Gothic sculpture can hardly be identified with certainty; the "Pride" (pl. 6) corresponds closely to the rendering of that vice at Chartres, but the resemblance might be due to the common use of a pattern book. The apostles (pl. 2) are evidently taken from an archivolt. The much discussed "sepouture dun sarrazin" (pl. 11) is a Roman work (*opus saracenum* was current for Roman construction in crusading times; cf. the "Saracen" Roman towers at Antibes), and probably a tomb; Hahnloser cites the *testamentum Galli Lingonis* as

describing a sepulcher of the sort. The nude youth standing beside an altar is ingeniously compared by our author with the month pictures of the Chronograph of 354. A certain example of copying from the antique is seen in the youth wearing a chlamys (pl. 58). Hahnloser fails to note, in his discussion of the mosaic floor copied by Villard in Hungary, the double-axe motif in its design, which is a fairly sure sign of a late antique work (cf. R. B. O'Connor, *Amer. Journal of Archaeology*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 151 ff.).

Villard's biography is reduced to the uncontrovertible data afforded by the drawings after known and datable monuments. The principal items here are the drawings of Reims and Cambrai which must have been done c. 1235, and Hahnloser is inclined to place the Hungarian trip immediately thereafter, in the course of which he made the drawing of Lausanne. What he went to Hungary for, and what he built there, there is no means of knowing; nothing in the Gothic architecture still existing in Hungary can be ascribed to him. Hahnloser feels certain, however, that the sketchbook was compiled for the Hungarian trip, and that the journey had some connection with the Cistercian order. It is very likely that Villard received his training in the *chantier* of Vaucelles, the Cistercian Abbey near his own town of Honnecourt; one of his drawings reproduces the plan of its church (pl. 33), and another (pl. 29), in collaboration with Peter of Corbie, shows us the "presbyterium" (chevet) of a Cistercian church which is only an enlargement to a double ambulatory of Vaucelles. Hahnloser has found the best parallels to Villard's "Hakenkreuz" made of four stonemasons whose bodies unite in four legs, exclusively in Cistercian works. Villard's interest in Chartres is evinced by his copy of its west rose, by a possible connection of his "Pride" (pl. 6) with the corresponding allegory at Chartres, and by the close resemblance observed by Hahnloser between the drawing of two checker players (pl. 17) and a group in the window at Chartres of the royal chamberlain Colin.

It is difficult to find a more suggestive material with which to build a theory of Gothic aesthetic than the drawings of Villard de Honnecourt, and Hahnloser takes full advantage of the opportunity. One of the most telling points made is Villard's agreement with Ghiberti that in the "geometry" of the standing figure the lines determining the legs should radiate from the groin, against Vitruvius' dictum that these diagonals should start from the navel. Hahnloser observes that the rendering of Laon tower is progressive in its description, reflecting the mediaeval view of a building as a sequence of constructions, not as something conceived "unmittelbar optisch." The "tomb of a Saracen,, is perhaps the most illustrative of Villard's Gothic habit—the exaggerated muscularity with which he copies the antique nudes is part and parcel of that progressive construction evinced in the drawing of the tower of Laon; each part is without reference to the whole. The draped figures at the base of the tomb have their draperies revised from the antique in a Gothic sense, and their undoubtedly (in the original) unshod feet are turned unconsciously into the outline of a thirteenth century shoe. The draughtsman is controlled, as a true artist of the High Gothic, by traditional concept and contemporary formula, whether he be copying or inventing, with his eye on some monument remaining from antiquity, or on works of his own time. That in spite of this he could manage to convey, in his alterations to the windows of Chartres and Lausanne, in his judgment on that of Reims ("l'amai io miex"), the expression of his personal preference and taste as an artist, in a set of drawings intended as a workshop guide, is no small evidence of the artistic as well as historical and archaeological value of this precious manuscript, for whose adequate and sympathetic publication Dr. Hahnloser deserves the thanks of every mediaevalist.

C. R. MOREY

AGOSTINO TASSI, DER LEHRER DES CLAUDE LORRAIN. EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER BAROCKMALEREI IN ROM. *By Jacob Hess. Munich, the Author, 1935.*

The author of this study has made himself known to all those interested in Italian Baroque painting by his exemplary edition of Passeri's Vite (*Die Kuenstlerbiographien des Giovanni Battista Passeri. Roemische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, vol. XI., Leipzig and Vienna, 1934). In adding his notes and comments to Passeri's detailed account of Agostino Tassi's life and activity, he referred to the present monograph which was originally intended to appear in one of the German art annuals. Taking some knowledge of Passeri's Vita for granted, Dr. Hess is able to deal with Tassi's life very succinctly and to concentrate upon his works and the development of his style. To discuss this competently was urgently needed, since Tassi's oeuvre had more and more become a catch-all for pre-Claudesque Roman landscapes. Dr. Hess succeeds in defining Tassi's personal style, above all by assigning to him, on convincing documentary evidence, the decoration of a room in the Doria-Pamphili Palace. He shows how much Tassi owed to Bril and the Carracci, and how much his pupil Claude Lorrain owed to him. A very interesting page is devoted to a picture in a private Paris collection which Dr. Hess regards as an undoubtable Tassi and which has been copied and used by Claude more than once. I do not know the original and should not like to commit myself for or against the attribution. Other friezes with inserted decorative landscapes by Tassi are at the Palazzo del Quirinale and the Palazzo Rospigliosi. In both these palaces as well as in the Palazzo Costaguti Tassi has also painted the architectural decoration. The colonnades and loggias which he invented to frame figures and scenes by Saraceni, Gentileschi, Lanfranco, Guercino, have made him at least as popular as his landscapes. Again, Dr. Hess carefully fixes Tassi's historical position, between the Bolognese and Roman decorators about 1580 and the style of Pietro da Cortona or Angelo Michele Colonna. Rightly he emphasizes Tassi's connections with the art of the stage and—for the treatment of the small figures in his landscapes—with Jacques Callot. The book is well and judiciously written, great knowledge of Roman archives, local literature and galleries and private collections is obvious in every page. Sixty illustrations in phototype are added.

N. PEVSNER

THREE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY TAPESTRIES. WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE TREE OF LIFE. THE ROCKEFELLER MCCORMICK COLLECTION. Vol. I. *By Phyllis Ackerman. New York, Oxford University Press.*

The day of the great luxury publications of works on the history of art is past. The economic crisis that prevails in all countries makes it necessary that even the valuable and distinguished results of research be published in modest form. Only art patronage on a grand scale, rich foundations and sales publications, make it possible at times for scholars to publish their studies in splendid editions. One of these luxuriously produced books has appeared recently in New York, printed, typically, by the Oxford University Press in London.

The point of departure for the study is furnished by three tapestries to be sold at auction from the Rockefeller McCormick collection, a later landscape tapestry and two older hunting tapestries. They are works of high aesthetic and technical quality. Stylistically they stand on the borderline between Gothic and Renaissance, and are valuable examples for enriching our knowledge of the Burgundian art of tapestry. The scientific accompanying text was written by Phyllis Ackerman, the learned and discriminating connoisseur of mediaeval Flemish and French figured tapestries. The author has, cautiously and conscientiously, with appreciation and industry, assembled a large group of stylistically related works, which are reproduced in 43 imposing folio photogravure plates, among them 5 in color. The abundance of hitherto unknown material brought together here from public and private collections is amazing. The atelier relationship seems especially convincing in pls. 9-15. A direct member of the group, a piece once belonging to Lovengard in Paris, seems to have escaped the collecting zeal of the author. It shows near a closed game preserve four young hunters, a woodworker and pastoral group with inscription bands. (I do not know whether this figured tapestry is still the property of Lovengard, whether it has in the meantime been submerged in the market, or is in another, inaccessible, private collection.) Pls. 16-30 show a looser school relationship. On the other hand, the two later landscape tapestries in the Museum at Zürich (pls. 7 and 8) seem to me to have no connection with the works under discussion. The landscape piece of pls. 1 and 2 should be classified with the Wartburg garden tapestry (see Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1923, pl. 95) and the tapestry with sibyls at a fountain formerly in the Lelong collection (*ibid.*, pl. 96). Some years ago I saw at Bernheimer's in Munich a piece related to this sibyl tapestry, showing the same composition and identical border. It represented two female figures that by means of attributes and annotations were to be identified as the Church and Synagogue. Between them in the stylistic vinework there was also an architectonically conceived gushing fountain. Near the broken lance of the Synagogue were several letters on a banderol (HOL, with a vertical mark over the bar of the H) that may perhaps offer a hint for the identity of the designer.

The stylistic character of the group as a whole points with certainty to the ateliers of Tournai. Letters that are used as seemingly purely decorative ornament filling on several of the pieces, the author interprets as the name of the hunting tepestry designer, Gilles, who may be identified with Gilles de Castre, a designer in the studio of Jacques Froidure at Tournai, who is mentioned in documents of 1491.

An appendix supports the method of the author with a supply of comparative material. Not only on tapestries, but also in paintings and miniatures, artists' signatures may often be made out from apparently purely decorative letters, on hems of garments or ornamental details.

The trees of the landscape tapestries furnish the material for another appendix with the profound study of the representation of the Tree of Life, whose symbolical and artistic development is traced from its Eastern origin to the European figured tapestries.

BETTY KURTH

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY CHURCH IN CHINA. *By Johannes Prip-Möller. 33 pp.; 18 ills.* (photographs and drawings by author). *Artes, Vol. III. Monuments et Mémoires publiés sous la direction de Vilhelm Wanscher. P. Haase & Fils, Copenhagen, 1935.*

In this sumptuous Danish publication, which is subsidized by the New Carlsberg Foundation and makes use of the better known languages of Europe, Dr. Johannes Prip-Möller—architect, archaeologist and missionary—gives an account in English of his remarkable discovery of an imposing church built in China by Franciscan friars in the early part of the fourteenth century.

As architect of the Danish Missionary Society Dr. Prip-Möller became familiar with China, and lately, under the auspices of the New Carlsberg Foundation, he has been engaged in recording designs of Chinese Buddhist monasteries which already are falling into ruin and are not likely to survive another generation. This work has taken him to remote places, which can be reached only by hard and perilous travel. But the discovery here in question was made in the capital of the new Republic and has to do with a building which every visitor to China has seen and wondered at.

The hall of Lin Ku Ssu (Monastery of the Spirit Valley) is situated on the slope of the Purple Mountain only a few kilometers east of Nanking, close to the Mausoleum of Sun Yat Sen, and within the precincts of the park and cemetery recently planned as a memorial to the patriots who died in the Revolution. The American architect H. K. Murphy, who designed this park and the new buildings that adorn it, has also restored the massive brick building which is the subject of this study, and has used it aptly as a ceremonial hall in connection with the cemetery.

The chronicle of the monastery recounts that it was built by Hung Wu (1368-1398), the first of the Ming emperors, and that it was completed in barely nine months. So short a space of time might have been sufficient for the erection of the usual timber buildings of a monastery, seeing that five thousand prisoners were employed on the job and that a great part of the material was supplied by the destruction of other temples; but it was clearly not sufficient for the building of this massive brick hall, measuring fifty by thirty-four meters, with heavy vaults over its

three aisles, instead of the usual timber roof. In fact, neither the chronicle of the monastery, nor the tablet which records this imperial gift, makes mention of this extraordinary building, which must have been the principal feature of the monastery, and which alone proved solid enough to survive the destruction wrought in this place by the Tai Pings. This reticence on the part of the tablet and the chronicle prompted Dr. Prip-Möller to suspect that Hung Wu was not the builder of this massive brick hall, but merely utilized (with more or less restoration) a building already in existence. In fact, the near-by tomb of Emperor Hung Wu shows that he employed a different sort of brick and a different technique.

It is not in place here (without pictures and plans) to follow in detail the ingenious and convincing arguments the author adduces to prove that this building is the earliest extant example of massive architecture in brick that we know of in China, that it points to a foreign influence, and more precisely to the Franciscan missionaries who were moved by Morco Polo's report of the spread of Nestorian Christianity in China and went out from Avignon in the early years of the papal exile, carrying in their minds the tradition of church building which predominated especially in that section of France. We know that the success of these missionaries was enormous in the early years of the friendly Yuan dynasty, so that when John of Montecorvo died in Peking as archbishop he left behind him a cathedral and thirty thousand Christians. It cannot seem incredible, therefore, that a great Franciscan monastery was erected about that time on the outskirts of Nanking, including this massive church, which because it was built of solid masonry has outlasted all contemporary constructions in timber, so that, after the Christian community was dispersed by the cruel warfare which brought an end to the tolerant Mongol dynasty, it could serve as the center of a Buddhist monastery under the Ming, and now ministers to the patriotism of the Chinese Republic.

When I saw this hall shortly after Dr. Prip-Möller had made his study of it, and before Mr. Murphy had carried out its reconstruction, it seemed sufficiently interesting to me, even though I had no knowledge of its history, and of course no suspicion that it had been built as a place of Christian worship. The first volume of Boerschmann's *Chinesesche Architectur* had already apprized me of the fact that many such structures had been built in the period of Wan Li (1573-1619) and that, in distinction from the prevailing type of Chinese buildings, they were described as Wu Liang Tien (hall without beams); but I did not then surmise that the first building of this sort I was to see was two hundred and fifty years older than any that Boerschmann refers to, and that it represents the first impact of a Western tradition which continued for many centuries to exert an influence upon China.

Among the detailed studies included in this article, the painstaking and clever treatment of the problem of the brackets used to support the eaves of the roof interests me most of all. For this subject, so far as I know, has not received the attention it deserves from archaeologists, and the modern buildings in China designed by Western architects have followed uncritically the elaborate and illogical system of bracketing which prevailed in the Ch'ing—a system which had its origin in wooden construction and was perversely applied to stone.

I feel sure that Dr. Prip-Möller's archaeological argument will appear convincing to the readers of his study who are patient enough to deal with the difficulty of the English diction in which it is presented. One may well feel grateful to the author that he was gracious enough not to present it in Danish.

WALTER LOWRIE

ELEMENTS OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY. *By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. 95 pp.; 15 pls.; 4to. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1935.* $ 3.50.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's three recent books, *A New Approach to the Vedas, The Transformation of Nature in Art*, and *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, constitute, I believe, the most significant contribution yet made in a Western language toward a true understanding of Oriental thought and art. The first named takes back even to the Rg-Veda the essential basis of Indian thought which underlies all the later developments of philosophy, literature, drama and art. The second clearly states from sources mainly Indian and partially Chinese a theory valid for all phases of Asiatic art. Moreover, in one chapter devoted to Eckhart's theory of art, Dr. Coomaraswamy shows that mediaeval European art was based on these same principles and thus indicates an indirect route toward the comprehension of the art of the East. In the *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, our author explains clearly the literal, allegorical, and anagogic meaning of certain fundamental aniconic symbols, the Tree of Life, the Earth Lotus, the Word Wheel, the Lotus Throne, and the Fiery Pillar, which he shows go back into the mists of time, although, so far as we know, they were first used in works of art by the Buddhists. They have continued in use by the Buddhists of various countries and have been used also by Hindus, side by side with the anthropomorphic images which developed in connection with the *bhakti-vāda*, or devotional theism predominant in mediaeval India.

*A New Approach to the Vedas* has but little bearing upon art and that little is also covered in the two other books. *The Transformation of Nature in Art* (reviewed by Thomas Munro in *The Art Bulletin, XVI* (1934), pp. 397-8) gives the reader a very clear idea of the purpose and use of images, aniconic, theriomorphic, and anthropomorphic, as well as of the Indian theory of aesthetics. We learn that the image maker goes through a process of *yoga*, or concentration, which is of the order of personal devotion, with the aim of having an immediate experience of identification with the ideally determined form of the divinity or other being he is about to make. He visualizes the image in the "immanent space in the heart." These art forms are ideally determined by racial consciousness and represent to our mentality the operative principles by which we explain phenomena. For example, the concept of universal life or cosmic activity as the Dance of Śiva may be compared to the scientific explanation of a perceptible straight line as the shortest distance between two points.

Art is by definition conventional and does not compete with nature but relies on its own criteria

imitating nature not in appearance, but in operation (quoted from St. Thomas by Dr. Coomaraswamy in explanation of the Indian theory and practice). All art tends toward perfection, where the pictorial and formal elements are one. The anthropomorphic image is essentially the same as the aniconic symbol and is not intended to function biologically or to deceive the eye. It is to the worshipper what diagrams are to the geometrician (a statement quoted by Dr. Coomaraswamy from Rao, the author of *Elements of Hindu Iconography*). Thus, the icon is a visual symbol, ideal in the mathematical sense and not a deceptive replica of any objective cause of sensation. The whole is a unity the relation of whose parts is mental rather than functional. The image represents, not a moment of time, but a continuous condition, for instance, the Enlightenment of the Buddha, the Dance of Śiva, the play of Kṛṣṇa with the milkmaids, realizable in the heart and mind of man.

Art is defined as expression informed by ideal beauty. Art is by nature a wellspring of delight. "Pure aesthetic experience is theirs in whom the knowledge of ideal beauty is innate; it is known intuitively, in intellectual ecstasy without accompaniment of ideation, at the highest level of conscious being; born of one mother with the vision of God, its life is as it were a flash of blinding light of transmundane origin, impossible to analyze, and yet in the image of our very being." In spite of this definition of aesthetic experience, translated by Dr. Coomaraswamy from the *Sāhitya darpaṇa*, we are warned that the experience arises in relation to a specific representation, and that we must possess an a priori knowledge of the matter, the subject, before we are competent to criticize, a process which repeats that of creation. Styles are idioms of knowledge and communication which are understood as our native language is understood, but which, when they are foreign to us, must be learned "with industry and patience," "just as one learns to write."

In the *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Dr. Coomaraswamy cites passages from the Upaniṣads and other works, both pre-Buddhist and Buddhist, which explain the metaphysical significance of the Tree of Life—in Buddhism, the Bodhi Tree—and of other symbols, showing that Buddhist symbolism is proper to the one great tradition which has persisted from the Vedic or a pre-Vedic period until now. The tree is the supreme fiery energy which awakens, springs up, and expands. The waters from which the lotus rises are the "possibilities of existence," and the lotus itself denotes ontologically a firm establishment amongst these possibilities, a birth or manifestation primarily in the intelligible, or also and consequently in the sensible, world. The Buddha rests on a lotus because Enlightenment is possible only in a phenomenal world. The wheel is regarded from two points of view, as principial *(Dharmacakra)* or as phenomenal *(Saṁsāracakra)*, hence from the standpoint of the Wayfarer is either to be turned or stayed, but from that of the Comprehensor is one and the same uninterrupted form, his own intrinsic form. The Buddha is at once the Sovereign Mover of the Wheel and the Wheel itself, the Word as set in motion. The Buddha seat is at the navel of the world wheel, the center of the universe, and this seat is no determinable spot, but a psychological center and point of consciousness where "every where and every when is focussed." This is not to say that there was no historical Buddha, just as the conception of Christ as Logos does not preclude the historicity of Jesus. Indeed, "by whatever name, personal or essential, the Spoken Word, the Wheel in Revolution, the Tree of Life, or Fiery Pillar, he may be called, in whatever forms he may be imagined, who surely takes the forms imagined by his worshippers," he, Buddha or Brahmā or Christ or Muḥammad, "is one and the same, his throne is single."

In these books, Dr. Coomaraswamy shows an understanding not only of Indian but also of Chinese and Japanese, not to speak of mediaeval Christian, thought and art which is profound. Take, for example, his discussion of the Six Canons of Hsieh Ho, *Transformation*...., pp. 19-21, and especially his treatment of Ch'an (Zen), *ibid.*, pp. 39-44. To his work in these three books, I have only one slight emendation to make. The divinity illustrated in *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pl. XV, described as Padmapāṇi—the Lotus-holder, one of Avalokiteśvara's many names—may be more specifically designated as Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara.

The importance of the three books by Dr. Coomaraswamy can hardly be overestimated, for, not only do they throw into clear relief the essential significance of all phases of the art of the Orient, but they are a call to the West to cease its preoccupation with surfaces and return to reality, albeit by the path primarily of its own scientific concepts which art and religion must come to embody, thus achieving an understanding not only of the art of the East but also of itself. I may add only that I fully believe that forces in this direction are already at work.

HELEN B. CHAPIN

HANDBOOK OF JAPANESE ART. *By Noritake Tsuda. xiv, 525 pp.; 10 pls., 345 figs.; 8vo. Tokyo, Sanseido, 1935.*

The *Handbook of Japanese Art* by Noritake Tsuda fills two long-felt needs: one for a history of Japanese art, comprehensive and yet of convenient size, and the other for a guidebook to the museums and temples in Japan—and fills them well. Though the first part might with advantage have been enlarged and the second part published separately, nevertheless, we have now for the first time in English a sympathetic, in the main accurate, concise and readable, and profusely and well-illustrated, history of Japanese art, suitable for use as a textbook. We have also in the same volume a guide to the museums and temples in Japan, together with brief descriptions of some of the important treasures in their collections, and a list of many of the well-known private collectors.

We find in this book a real understanding and appreciation of Japanese art, not always ecountered even in books written (in English) by Japanese. Most of the important works from the earliest to the latest are described in their periods and schools, and well-chosen illustrations of exceptionally good quality, considering the size and format, accompany the text. The elucidations of various techniques, as those of bronze casting, page 25, dry lacquer (*kanshitsu*), page 50, clay, page 54, color prints, pages 234-5, etc., are extremely lucid and valuable. The discussion of

Nara textiles, pages 54-60, is excellent, as are also the various sections on architecture, which include descriptions and illustrations of different buildings, and on landscape gardening. Pottery, lacquer, and other minor arts are well handled. A valuable feature of the book is the inclusion of translations of pertinent documents, as, for example, the imperial ordinance in regard to the erection of the Daibutsu at Nara (A. D. 749; the dedication ceremony was held in 752), which throws light on the relations between Buddhism and art and between Buddhist art and the government; several interesting inscriptions on works of art are also translated, for instance, that on the beautiful image of Benten at Kamakura, page 128.

Although it is a great advantage to have information regarding the wealth of fine works of art in Japan, it would not, in my opinion, have been amiss to mention by their side some of those to be found elsewhere, for example, the treasures in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: the Buddhist sculptures and paintings, the Heiji *monogatari*, the Kibi Daijin scroll, the Tosa album, the Kōrin wave-screen, and the paintings by Moronobu. Only in connection with the prints, a field in which it is unrivaled, is the Boston Museum mentioned.

Perhaps the poorest reproduction in the book is that of Sesshū's great impressionistic landscape in the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum, page 303. This is unfortunate, for the painting is, I believe, one of the world's great pictures. One or two statements are open to question. Certainly not all art critics would agree with Tsuda that the "color print deserves higher appreciation than does the painting." On page 73, Tsuda says, "Kūkai and Saichō completed their work of identifying Buddhistic with Shintō deities." The inference here that the identification of Buddhist and Shintō divinities was completed at the time of Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) and Saichō (Dengyō Daishi)—9th century—is not borne out by facts. In this connection Sansom's statement (*Japan*, pp. 222-4), "It was not until the close of the Heian period (say 1100) that the fully syncretic Dual Shintō was evolved," coincides better, I think, with the facts. On page 80, we have the peculiar description as "incarnated Buddhas" of the *nirmita* (or *dhyāni*) Buddhas in the crown of the sandalwood image of Kwannon in Hōryūji.

This is a mistake easily made by those not familiar with Sanskrit, since the translators of Sanskrit Buddhist works into Chinese used the same character *hua* (*ke* in Japanese) to translate the terms *nirmita* and *nirmāna*. This mistake was made by the author of the *Handbook of the Old Shrines and Temples and Their Treasures* (p. 130) in connection with the same image. In Mochizuki's *Bukkyō daijiten* (in Japanese), Vol. I, p. 919, *kebutsu* is explained under two headings. The "incarnated Buddhas" are, of course, the *nirmāṇa* or *manuṣa* Buddhas like Śākyamuni; while the Buddhas whose tiny figures appear in the crowns of Bodhisattva are the *nirmita* or *dhyāni* Buddhas like Amitābha, who are never incarnated. It is best to use the Sanskrit word.

This Kwannon in Hōryūji is unusual not only in having nine heads (the Eleven-headed Kwannon is frequently met with) but also in that the *dhyāni* Buddha occurs in the crown of each one of the subsidiary heads as well as above the forehead of the main head. Fudō is not a *deva* (as he is called by Tsuda on page 83) but a *vidyarāja*, or "King of (esoteric) knowledge"—*Myōō* in Japanese. In connection with the bell or *ghaṇṭā* which plays an important part in the rituals of Shingon Buddhism, where it signifies Prajñā or Wisdom and is pendant to the *vajra* held in the other hand of the officiating priest, symbolizing Upāya, or the Means (to salvation), we are told rather naïvely that the priest "tinkled the bell to remind people of his existence."

It is a pity that the book is unsystematic in its use of transliterations of Chinese names. For example, Chang Tsengyad (Chang Sêng-yu?), page 24; Zui (Sui), page 35; Ta Tsung (T'ai Tsung), page 35; Wuchi Isso (partly Chinese, partly Japanese transliteration) refers, in all probability, to Wei-ch'ih I-sêng (for whom see Siren, *A History of Early Chinese Painting*, pages 41-44); Yuang occurs twice on page 110, but the same word is spelled Yuan (Yüan) on page 145; Li Lung-mien is called Li Lungmin on page 151 and Li Lungmen on page 146; etc.

Now the Sanskrit, now the Japanese forms of Buddhist names are employed. Sanskrit: Sākya-muni (Śākyamuni; Japanese, Shaka), page 46; Lochana (Locana; Japanese Roshana), page 38; etc. Japanese: Amida (Amitābha), Kwannon (Avalokiteśvara), Seishi Mahāsthāmaprāpta), page 48; Gakkwō (Sūryaprabha), page 54; etc. In connection with the famous clay image referred to in the last instance, it might have been as well to mention the fact that some authorities consider it not Gakkō (Gwakkō is an alternative spelling, but why the *w* before the *ō*?) but Bonten (Brahmā) (see Sansom, *Japan*, p. xii, pl. vi).

The book is marred by typographical errors; "goddness" for goddess, page 128; "sowrds" for swords, p. 12; "fabries" for fabrics, p. 55; "amor-smiths" for armor-smiths, page 168—and by occasional eccentricities in English. Two references are misleading. On page 105, we are referred to "paragraph one of the first chapter of the second part of this book," whereas the passage in question occurs farther along on page 314. Again, on page 163, we are incorrectly referred to this same first paragraph for a passage to be found on page 307.

These are minor flaws, however, in a work of great value. Here the student who comes fresh to the study of Japanese art finds before him many splendid examples, representative of the best fruits of the Japanese genius throughout the ages, and here he may follow the general development and trends of art from the Suiko period to the present day. The book will also prove useful to the more advanced student, providing, in a form convenient for reference, material which he might otherwise have to search through voluminous Japanese publications to find. We should like to see this book used as a textbook in American high schools and colleges, as well as by the intelligent tourist and visitor to Japan. Some day it will be supplemented by a more detailed history of Japanese art; but, in revised editions, this book could long hold its own as a good starting point for the study of Japanese art.

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